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United States & Canada

Telecommunications Link to Congress Opened

91UF1070A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Jul 91 Union Edition p 6

[Article by G. Ivanov-Smolenskiy: "USSR-USA: Parliamentarians Establish Communications Link"]

[Text] **A very modern telecommunications link will exist between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress from now on. It is provided by the joint Soviet-American enterprise SOVAM TELEPORT.**

An agreement was signed the other day to the effect that the joint Soviet-American enterprise SOVAM TELEPORT will maintain very modern computer communications, commonly called electronic mail, between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress. What is more, the system is already working.

What will our parliamentarians receive, thanks to it? To put it briefly, very broad and very effective access to information that has been accumulated over many decades in the parliament of the United States. Access to the experience, wisdom, and errors of numerous generations of American legislators. After all, with all respect to our parliamentarians, "something" was already accumulated before them as well—world standards in law-making were developed, and the world level of democratic legislation was determined. And it is not excluded that, after gaining access to data from any committee and subcommittee, and about any law and act of congress, our parliamentarians will in the end spare their constituents from at times excessively long-winded "television debates" and save themselves from "attacks" for a predilection for representational trips to parliaments of other countries.

"This is an important qualitative advancement," Tom Davidson, president of the company San Francisco-Moscow Teleport (SFMT), believes. "It will make it possible for your legislators to have continuously the best models of world law-making at hand. Of course, not as a 'mold' to which your laws have to be fitted, but as reference points; that is, to do what our congressmen did at one time and what they are doing now. In this sense, I think it is symbolic that when approximately three years ago we were arranging the very first test electronic mail sessions between Moscow and San Francisco, a special attachment to the computer was shown on the screen, and also the birth of babies under water, and how later the parents were occupied with their modern, accelerated development. And now, together with the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Applied Automated Systems (VNIIPAS), we have been able 'to give birth' to a joint enterprise."

Today in our country, SOVAM TELEPORT already has 600 users (subscribers). And massive amounts of the most diverse information—business, financial, scientific, legal, and cultural—goes to the United States and comes to us through the antenna "dish" mounted in the very center of Moscow, on the roof of VNIIPAS, through the Ostankino television tower, a very powerful amplifier in Medvezhye Ozera Rayon in the Moscow suburbs, and the satellite Intelsat. Among those who are already using the services of SOVAM TELEPORT, and who work day in and day out with its help, are organizations of the USSR Academy of Sciences and institutes of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, educational institutions of our country, children's computer clubs, the information agency NOVOSTI, the journal TIME, correspondents of a number of other large American publications, and also social and international organizations.

Electronic mail, in addition to the fact that it has an unusually large capacity and is efficient, is also simple in operation, and, in comparison with telefax, it is cheap. Computers, (from lap-top size with a small case to the usual Soviet ones), of which we now have quite a few, are hooked up to any telephone—in a hotel, office, or home. (Incidentally, in connection with the fact that the Moscow telephone networks are quite unreliable and poor, special modems were created—connecting devices, which "adapt" our and Western communications systems. And since that time communications are being conducted almost without breakdowns, in a routine of direct "telephone" dialogue, without a need, as frequently happens, for hours of dialing a telefax number. This link makes it possible to conduct large telephone conferences, and it provides access to any subscribed data banks and computer information systems. (Moreover, SOVAM TELEPORT also provides information about what one or another data bank possesses and about information systems).

"For example, recently," says Tom Davidson, "one of the large American musical libraries wanted to establish communications with the Moscow conservatory. And, your unfortunate typical 'lack of dollars' did not become an impediment to such communications for the conservatory. The American partner will always find $200-$300 a month if it really needs a reliable exchange of important information with a Soviet institution or organization that does not have its own hard currency. For noncommercial users, like schools and hospitals, we also offer services for rubles."

"Incidentally, the question can concern," continues T. Davidson, "not only international information exchange, but also Union internal exchange. What is more, we now have a lot of organizations that are literally crammed with computers on which employees frequently play...children's games, but the management does not know how to set them up in a system of internal informational communication. We can also help in this. In a word, to make the computer a powerful means of telecommunications—a transmitter, memory, and an information processor. Make the computer a computer, and not furniture, and not a toy."

Well, it is possible that our legislators will set a good example here.

China

Commentator on Moves To Demilitarize Border

OW1608124291 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 0900 GMT 15 Aug 91

[From the "Asian Affairs" program]

[Text] Chi Haotian, chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army [PLA], recently held talks with leaders of the Soviet Armed Forces in Moscow. During the talks, both sides affirmed that military cooperation between the two countries was developing well. The most noticeable aspects of this cooperation are the joint measures that have been taken to reduce the military presence along the Sino-Soviet border.

This station's military commentator (Korsunov) says: When Gorbachev visited China in 1989, the two countries announced the normalization of ties. At that time, the military facilities along the Sino-Soviet border were the only things that still reminded people of the two countries' unpleasant ways of confrontation. These facilities, or, to be more precise, the fact that each side had deployed 1 million troops along the border, is certainly not going to be seen during the new stage of Sino-Soviet relations, which have taken the form of good-neighborly relations, featuring mutual respect and close cooperation.

It is not strange that at the Beijing summit Gorbachev and the Chinese leaders concluded that they must reduce the number of troops along the border. They decided to open negotiations in which military experts would participate in a bid to demilitarize the Sino-Soviet border as soon as possible. Both sides have made some headway since then, especially in the area of comparing and analyzing the two countries' forces stationed along the border—a facet of the talks which has actually been completed. This led to arrangements for withdrawing troops, and supervisory measures have been carried out smoothly.

I would like to point out that the Soviet Union has unilaterally taken a series of significant steps. For example, the Soviet Union has reduced its troops in Asia by 200,000 soldiers, 120,000 of whom were in the Far East. Undoubtedly, the removal all of the Soviet Union's intermediate- and short-range guided missiles in Asia, completed three months ago, has further accelerated this process. Finally, it is important to note that the Soviet Union will withdraw all of its troops from Mongolia this year.

Popular opinion within the Soviet Union also appraises highly China's move to reduce its forces by 1 million troops, including those stationed along the Sino-Soviet border. Since both sides have implemented constructive measures, a good foundation for making the border area a demilitarized zone has been laid. As the Chinese PLA chief of the General Staff told his Soviet counterpart, Chief of General Staff Moiseyev: We are very confident that this problem is surely to be settled.

Commentator on Normalization of PRC-SRV Ties

OW1708210291 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 2200 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Commentary by Alekseyev; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Listeners and friends: China sincerely hopes that its relations with Vietnam can be fully normalized. Chinese Premier Li Peng expressed this hope in his message to Vo Van Kiet, greeting his appointment as Vietnamese premier. In the greeting message Li Peng says that he hopes China and Vietnam will make even greater efforts to help achieve a comprehensive political settlement in the Cambodian conflict, and that he hopes China and Vietnam will eventually become good neighbors. Station observer Alekseyev points out:

In his greeting message, Li Peng links the settlement of the Cambodian issue and the normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations. This is not accidental. These two issues are closely related. Sino-Vietnamese relations worsened specifically because of the occurrence of the Cambodian conflict 12 years ago. At that time, Vietnam offered military assistance to Cambodia to help it overthrow the rule of the Pol Pot clique. That triggered Beijing's vigorous opposition. During the long period in which Vietnamese troops were stationed in Cambodia to help Phnom Penh guard against the restoration of the Pol Pot regime, Sino-Vietnamese relations were very tense. In September 1989, Vietnam withdrew all of its troops from Cambodia in accordance with a previous agreement. Although it seemed that all the obstacles obstructing the restoration of good neighborly relations between China and Vietnam should have been eradicated because of the withdrawal, this was not the case. Apparently the aggregate distrust accumulated over the past 10 years or so was very deep.

What is the situation now? During the fifth round of Sino-Vietnamese talks held in Beijing not long ago, both Beijing and Hanoi maintained that the talks were very fruitful. The main reason for this great success lies in the big headway achieved in the settlement of the Cambodian issue.

The recent situation, and the possibilities it has created, were unimaginable not too long ago. What I mean is, the positions of China and Vietnam toward the Cambodian issue are, to a great extent, the positions of people who share a common goal. The results achieved at the Beijing meeting attended by various Cambodian parties in early July fully testify to this point. Both China and Vietnam endorse the accords adopted by the attendees of the Beijing meeting, and they hope that these accords can be implemented. Thus, we have every reason to expect that full normalization of Sino- Vietnamese relations can be achieved in the near future. This is the hope shared by both sides. China maintains that normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations is in the fundamental interests of China and Vietnam. As far as I know, this is a viewpoint shared by Hanoi as well.

Northeast Asia

Ministry Denies Violation of Japanese Airspace

LD1708180191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Here is a report just in from the USSR Ministry of Defense press center. Reports have appeared in the media to the effect that the Japanese Foreign Ministry has lodged a protest over a violation of the country's airspace alleged to have been made on 15 August by two Soviet warplanes, Tu-95 bombers. It was said that the aircraft supposedly made an incursion up to 21 km into Japanese airspace. In this connection it is necessary to stress that the allegation of a violation of Japan's airspace by Soviet warplanes does not accord with the facts. Throughout the entire flight, which was being made in accordance with a combat training plan, the aircraft were tracked solidly by Soviet radio-technical units' systems. It was registered by these systems, as well as by the two aircraft's onboard target monitoring systems, that the flight was conducted at a distance of 26 km from the coastal side of the Japanese island of Rebun-Jima, close to the northern extremity of Hokkaido, that is 3.8 km outside the limit of territorial waters—which, as is known, are generally accepted to cover a zone of 12 nautical miles, or 22.2 km. Thus, there was no violation. This is further borne out by the fact that no attempt to force the Tu-95s to change course was made by the two fighters of the Japanese Self- Defense Forces which escorted the Soviet aircraft from 13.26 to 13.35 Moscow Time.

Ministry Deems Japanese Protest 'Deplorable'

LD1708220291 Moscow TASS in English 2047 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—An official statement of the press centre of the Soviet Defence Ministry was circulated here today, which says:

A report appeared in the mass media to the effect that the Japanese Foreign Ministry made a protest in connection with the violation of the Japanese air space by two Soviet TU-95 military bombers on August 15. The report said, among other things, that the planes had allegedly penetrated the Japanese air space to a depth of 21 kilometres.

It should be stressed in this connection that reports about the violation of the Japanese air space by Soviet warplanes are at variance with reality. During the whole of the flight, carried out in accordance with a military training schedule, the above mentioned planes were steadily monitored by Soviet radar units. The radars and on-board control facilities of both planes registered that the planes reached the area 26 kilometres away from the coast of the island of Rebun-Jima, Japan (close to the northern end of Hokkaido), i.e. 3.8 km away from the boundary of the territorial waters which, according to generally recognised standards, is 12 nautical miles (22.2 km) wide.

Thus, there was no violation of the air space. This is confirmed by the fact that two fighter planes of the Japanese Self-Defence Forces, which escorted the Soviet planes between 13.26 and 13.35, "Moscow time, made no attempt to make them change the course.

It is deplorable that the poorly checked information about the alleged violation of the air space, which actually did not take place, became the reason for this serious step taken by the Japanese Foreign Ministry.

ROK Willing To Discuss Nuclear Issues

SK1708133691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 0900 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Seoul's attempt to not [word indistinct] nuclear weapons from Korea keeps attracting the attention in the mass media of Asian and Pacific countries.

As you may know, South Korea has recently made it clear that it is not against holding talks with Pyongyang on this issue. Two days later, Washington officially gave Seoul the authority to discuss the possibility that U.S. nuclear weapons exist in South Korea at the talks.

On this, station commentator (Oleg Alekseyev) writes the following: Rumors have it that there are about 1,000 units of U.S. nuclear weapons in the territory of South Korea. However, never once has Washington confirmed or denied their existence, sticking to its long tradition. So, the U.S. Administration has never agreed on the discussion of the theme or [words indistinct]. Even Seoul's stand on this has been (?artificially) negative. Seoul has repeatedly refused all of Pyongyang's proposals for discussing issues that are related to U.S. nuclear weapons in South Korea.

Then, how can it be explained that South Korea and the United States have recently reconsidered their positions on this issue?

First of all, I believe this has something to do with the fact that the question of inspecting nuclear facilities in the territory of North Korea has not been solved. An inspection as such is specified in the nuclear non- proliferation treaty and the DPRK has signed this treaty, along with other non-nuclear countries. However, to date it has never been clear whether Pyongyang will agree to inspections or not.

The DPRK Government has stated its willingness to reach agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency on a (?portion) dealing with the supervision of the non-nuclear countries to see whether they are faithful to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty or not. Meanwhile, Pyongyang has repeatedly insisted that U.S. nuclear accumulation in South Korea, too, be open to an international inspection simultaneously.

So, the proposals by Seoul and Washington can be said to be seeking to solve this issue by taking into consideration the stand of the DPRK bent on discussing it as a package. Well, then, such a measure is more than welcome. Unquestionably, this measure sits well with the effort to ease tensions on the Korean peninsula and, therefore, will

correspond to the goals of an effort to improve the situation across the board in the Far East, Asia, and the Pacific.

Comment on Nuclear Issue

SK1708022091 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 0900 GMT 12 Aug 91

[By station commentator (Oleg Aleksev)]

[Text] The South Korean newspaper CHOSON ILBO, citing an (?official source), carried an article that the ROK and the United States intend to deliberate on the issue of withdrawing U.S. nuclear weapons from the south on the Korean peninsula. In connection with this, station commentator (Oleg Aleksev) writes as follows:

On several occasions Washington and Seoul have agreed that it is reasonable to withdraw U.S. nuclear weapons from South Korea. For example, some commentators, in their commentaries on the U.S.-ROK Security Consultative Meeting held in Hawaii on 7 and 8 7-8 August, noted such a proposal.

Now a leading Seoul newspaper has carried a new report on this. Though it has not been officially confirmed yet, it is thought that the article is reliable, for CHOSON ILBO has a reputation for reliability throughout South Korea.

Let us examine the essence of this issue. According to a CHOSON ILBO report, the United States and South Korea acknowledge the possibility of withdrawing U.S. nuclear weapons from the South on the Korean Peninsula with a clear condition.

Washington and Seoul acknowledge that only when North Korea agrees to allow the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] to inspect its nuclear facilities can U.S. nuclear weapons be withdrawn from South Korea.

North Korea signed the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, which stipulates that if a country that does not possess nuclear weapons eventually acquires nuclear facilities, it should accept international nuclear inspection without any preliminary condition. The purpose of such a nuclear inspection is to confirm that such facilities are not used to develop nuclear weapons.

However, because the DPRK has not fulfilled this condition yet, South Korea, some other countries, and the countries in the Far East in particular are apprehensive.

Some time ago, Pyongyang declared its readiness to resume talks with the IAEA that had been suspended last year. At the same time, Pyongyang has persistently claimed that the issue of U.S. nuclear weapons deployed in the South on the Korean peninsula be settled.

North Korea should accept inspection of its nuclear facilities without any condition, as the treaty requires. However, the situation is more complicated. Considering the DPRK's stance, it seems that this issue can be settled more generally. Thus, proceeding from such a point, Washington and Seoul appear to intend to deliberate the withdrawal of U.S. weapons deployed in South Korea, in case North Korea agrees to IAEA inspection of its nuclear facilities.

Though this has not yet been officially confirmed, if this decision is made, this response to Pyongyang's proposal will be constructive. Therefore, such a measure will make possibile Pyongyang's plan to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

Near East & South Asia

Israeli Consul General on Situation in Moscow

TA1908075591 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0610 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Telephone interview with Arye Levin, the Israeli consul general in the Soviet Union, by Karmit Gay and foreign affairs correspondent Gid'on Remez—live or recorded]

[Text] [Gay] Good morning, Consul General Levin.

[Levin] Good morning.

[Gay] Have you already been contacted in any way? Is anything happening beyond what we already know?

[Levin] I think that things are starting to fall into place. First of all, there are armored personnel carriers and soldiers in helmets on the streets. That is already the first phenomenon. A second development is that Moscow's Radio Echo [preceding word in English] broadcasts have been silenced. That was a local Moscow radio station in Russian that aired very liberal and free broadcasts. These two phenomena are probably just the beginning. The new regime, which assumed power at 0400 this morning, did so according to an order signed by the vice president, who initially stated that the Soviet Union was adopting these measures due to Gorbachev's illness, but nobody gives that claim any credence. This is undoubtedly a coup d'etat. I would not call it a revolution, but it is certainly an upheaval at this stage.

[Remez] Mr. Levin, did the announcement by the emergency committee include any appeal to foreign countries to show some understanding or acceptance of the new situation? Was there any direct appeal to your consulate by the Soviet authorities?

[Levin] No, there was no such appeal, and it is still too early for that. The announcement was only broadcast a short while ago, and it is the kind of announcement that is routinely broadcast in such situations in all countries that experience such upheavals. This is what I have always heard, so it is only natural, and there have been no appeals to foreign countries. Any appeal to us will certainly come later.

[Gay] What is happening at your consulate? Is it business as usual? Are people coming in to get visas?

[Levin] Yes, everything is as usual here. Things are normal on the streets as well. I took a long drive through Moscow this morning, and there are many people listening to the radio, many people are in shock. I saw some very worried looking people listening to a transistor. Most people look very concerned; however, there is nothing out of the ordinary beyond that, and it is too early to expect any

rapid developments, especially since those who carried out the coup certainly thought out every step in advance.

[Remez] Mr. Levin, from what you know about the positions held by the people behind this coup, do you think that the it will have any effect on the aliyah issue, which so concerns us?

[Levin] The people who seized power base themselves first of all, just as was done in the past, on the constitution and on the laws. We must not forget that just recently, at the end of July, a law on free emigration was passed in the Soviet Union, and that is what provides the legal basis for the emigration from the Soviet Union. It will not be easy to stop the emigration, even if they want to.

[Gay] Thank you, Consul General Arye Levin.

Envoy Presents Message to Syrian President

LD1808085591 Moscow TASS in English 0809 GMT 18 Aug 91

[By correspondent Anatoliy Bogdanov]

[Text] Damascus August 18 TASS—President Hafiz al-Asad of Syria on Saturday received Karen Brutents, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's personal envoy.

Brutents gave al-Asad a message from Gorbachev, concerning a peaceful settlement and a Middle East peace conference, the SANA news agency reports.

Al-Asad and Brutents discussed the efforts that are being taken to restore full and comprehensive peace in the region in accordance with U.N. Security council resolutions 242 and 338.

Brutents said that the Soviet leadership is satisfied with Syria's position in the peaceful process and its importance for furthering the process.

The Soviet and Syrian sides agreed to continue contacts.

The meeting was attended by Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al- Shar'.

[Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English at 0800 GMT on 18 August broadcasts a similar item on Brutents meeting with al-Asad which adds the following: "As Karen Brutents indicated, the USSR at present had no intentions to restore diplomatic ties with Israel until real progress had been achieved in efforts to secure a Middle East settlement."]

Meeting 'Warm, Friendly'

PM1908113291 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 91 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Received by H. al-Asad"]

[Text] Damascus, 18 Aug—Syrian leader Hafiz al-Asad received K.N. Brutents, USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's personal representative, who is here on a visit. In the course of the meeting, which passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere, the official Soviet representative conveyed to the Syrian president a message from the Soviet head of state. Questions of a Near East settlement and Soviet-Syrian relations at the present stage were also discussed.

'Restraint' Over Relations With Israel Viewed

PM1608140091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 91 p 3

[Article by special correspondent A. Vasilyev: "Not Everyone in Israel Keeps a Copy of the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion' Under His Pillow"]

[Excerpt] Tel Aviv, Jerusalem—The other day it was reported from Jerusalem that Soviet-Israeli relations are going to be restored soon, and that a statement to this effect would be made in September in New York, where the USSR and Israeli foreign ministers will be going to take part in the UN General Assembly. Irrespective of whether Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Administration, denies this report, or whether the Soviet side will simply keep silent, the reasons why Jerusalem allowed this information "leak" are very understandable: It will be increasingly difficult for the Soviet Union, if it does not intend to restore diplomatic relations with Israel in the very near future, to give a reasonable explanation for not wanting to do so.

No one in Israel can understand our restrained position. Influential politicians, both in the government and the opposition, and in scientific circles, are racking their brains in the search for rational causes—and not finding them. When by way of an explanation I put forward the idea that perhaps Moscow does not wish to spoil its relations with the Arab countries, people objected with one voice: The United States and West European countries have embassies both in Israel and in countries of the Arab world, and this does not stop them maintaining normal relations with both sides.

They see the sole explanation for the Soviet Union's restraint in the words uttered by A.A. Bessmertnykh at the negotiating table during his recent visit to Jerusalem: Restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel is being hampered by the Soviet Union's internal problems.

Well, if the explanation lies in the "Arab factor" after all, the information "leaked" from Jerusalem might have a real foundation. It would be of the greatest advantage to the Soviet Union to restore relations before the beginning of the conference on the Near East—which, as is well known, is planned for October—since there is at least the appearance of a desire for agreement between Jews and Arabs. If the conference fails—an entirely possible outcome in my view—Moscow will once more have to choose between mutually hostile Arabs and Jews. [passage omitted]

Courses for Immigrants To Israel Planned

TA1608154191 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1400 GMT 16 Aug 912

[Text] Three courses intended to train aliyah candidates in driving heavy vehicles and operating mechanical engineering equipment will open in Moscow soon. An agreement on this was reached in Transportation Minister

Qatzav's talks in the USSR. About 20 training classes for engineers and academics will open over the next six months, and they will be attended by about 600 Jews who are slated to immigrate to Israel.

Accord Reached on Soviet Workers to Near East

LD1708171191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] The MEGAPOLIS EKSPRES weekly has printed some news which ranks as fantastic: the conditions for accepting Soviet manpower in the Persian Gulf countries have been agreed upon. This means that there are prospects for the Soviet Union to start supplying 150,000 people every year to the Near East. In an interview with the newspaper (Petr Rudev), head of the Main Administration for the Affairs of Migrant Workers of the USSR Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, said that contracts will be concluded for two years for all categories of specialists. According to a preliminary agreement, they will go to seven Near East countries, in particular Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The first batch will leave as soon as the start of the next year.

Gorbachev, Najibullah Exchange Greetings

LD1808165491 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On the occasion of Afghanistan's national holiday, the Day of Restoration of Independence, USSR President Gorbachev has sent Afghan President Najibollah a telegram of congratulations, in which the Soviet Union's support is stressed for the efforts of the Afghan Government to achieve a political settlement as soon as possible.

In his reply telegram President Najibullah, on behalf of the Afghan people, highly appraised the Soviet Union's support for the efforts of the Afghan Government to achieve peace and stability.

West Europe

* Nine Leave Soviet Embassy After Defection

91UF1064A Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 25 Jul 91 p 3

[Article by Harald Stanghelle: "Several Soviet Diplomats Have Left Norway"—first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] Five diplomats and four junior civil servants from the USSR's Oslo embassy have left Norway since KGB officer Mikhail Butkov defected to the British intelligence service.

As of this week, it has been two months since Mikhail Butkov reported to British intelligence. According to AFTENPOSTEN information, Butkov has not provided any information that can serve as a basis for initiating criminal proceedings against any Norwegian citizens.

In the meantime, it appears that the defection has brought with it some replacements among Soviet embassy personnel. Among the diplomats who are now in Moscow is Lev Koshlyakov, who in intelligence circles is considered the leader of KGB operations in Norway, the so-called KGB resident.

No Comment From Urdal

Based on what AFTENPOSTEN has reason to believe, several of the others who have left also had intelligence duties in Norway.

"I am neither able nor willing to comment on this matter," was the comment of Counterintelligence Service Chief Svein Urdal concerning AFTENPOSTEN's information.

At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, AFTENPOSTEN has learned that since the beginning of June—when Mikhail Butkov was reported missing from the Soviet embassy—they have received official notification that three diplomats and four junior civil servants have left Norway. In all, there are 89 Soviet citizens on active duty as diplomats or officials in Norway, which is the "ceiling" imposed on the USSR's diplomatic representation in Norway.

"These so-called roll-calls are completely routine," says Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman Bjorn Blokhus, who refused to speculate on any connection with the Butkov affair.

Completed Service

It is first secretary Ivan Vanyushkin, Assistant Military Attache Stanislav Astaknov, and Assistant Trade Representative Valeriy Nikulshin who have completed their service in Oslo since June. In addition to these three diplomats about whom the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has received notification, both Lev Koshlyakov and press spokesman Andrey Kukushkin are now in Moscow. There is reason to believe that both perform key intelligence functions at the USSR's embassy in Norway.

Quick Disappearance

According to information in AFTENPOSTEN's possession, both men left for home "on vacation," as the official explanation states, with surprising speed after it was disclosed that Mikhail Butkov had defected.

In the meantime, several sources emphasize that there is no cause for speculation on any "mass exodus" of key Soviet civil servants following the Butkov defection. According to AFTENPOSTEN information, several of the people who are considered part of the embassy's intelligence staff will be replaced during the next six months, quite simply because their normal posting has ended. As far as some people are concerned, meanwhile, there is reason to believe that the departure was expedited by the Butkov affair, but informed AFTENPOSTEN sources warned against dramatizing the situation.

The Counterintelligence Service has not commented on the Butkov affair since the end of June.

"No new situations have emerged, nor has any new information been received that makes it appropriate to comment on the matter," is the terse announcement that Counterintelligence Service Chief Svein Urdal has made to the press over recent weeks.

In the meantime, AFTENPOSTEN has reason to believe that both the Norwegian and the British side continue to see Butkov's defection as an important intelligence event, and that in the current talks he is providing information that is of great value to Western intelligence.

Taking Their Time

Meanwhile, informed sources point out that the intelligence organizations in question have a different attitude towards time than do the media, and that in the case of Butkov they are taking the time that is necessary without forcing either him or the matter.

As of this week it has been two months since Butkov defected to British intelligence. According to AFTENPOSTEN information, no basis has been found for initiating any criminal proceedings against any Norwegian citizens as a result of the information that he has provided. This would be necessary due to the fact that the defection was publicly known, for fear that any Norwegian KGB contacts would be warned and would arrange to leave the jurisdiction of the Norwegian Counterintelligence Service.

No Criminal Prosecution

But no such criminal prosecution has taken place. According to what AFTENPOSTEN has reason to believe, this does not mean that in his talks with British and Norwegian counterintelligence officials Mikhail Butkov has not provided important information on KGB operations on Norwegian soil.

The fact that several Soviet civil servants with assumed intelligence duties are now concluding their stays in Norway somewhat earlier than planned can be viewed in connection with the information that responsible officials in the KGB must expect Mikhail Butkov to provide to Western intelligence this summer. No one knows better than Soviet intelligence officers that this type of case can lead to their being declared undesirable in their host country. And it is easier to be in Moscow if this should become the most tangible and visible result of the Butkov affair.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Ousted; State of Emergency Imposed

Yanayev Assumes Presidential Duties

LD1908043491 Moscow TASS in English 0418 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—"In connection with the inability for health reasons by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to perform his duties as USSR president, I have assumed the duties of USSR president from August 19, 1991 on the basis of Article 127 (7) of the USSR Constitution.
Gennadiy I. Yanayev
Vice-president of the USSR
August 18, 1991."

Yanayev Profiled

AU1908083891 Paris AFP in English 0709 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP)—Gennadiy Yanayev, named Soviet president on Monday to replace Mikhail Gorbachev, is a Soviet Communist Party conservative who had served as head of the Soviet official trade union before taking over state functions.

Yanayev, 54, had served as Soviet vice president since December last year, but he was only elected on a second round of voting after failing to obtain a majority in his favour in a first round. Gorbachev decided to appoint him under pressure from the party conservatives. Gorbachev then described him as "a man of principles... and an active supporter of perestroyka (restructuring)".

Yanayev had been a member of the party's top leadership, the politburo, since a party congress in July last year. He describes himself as a "realistic radical" although only showed lukewarm enthusiasm for plans to move to a market economy, and had called for gradual change.

Yanayev, an ethnic Russian, is an engineer and legal expert. He studied at the Gorkiy (now Nizhniy Novgorod) agricultural institute and later did a correspondence course at Moscow's law institute. After joining the Communist Youth League in Gorkiy, east of Moscow, Yanayev moved up the local party apparatus before his career took a more international turn.

His knowledge of English and German, rare in a Soviet cadre, led him to chair the party's youth organisations committee from 1968 to 1980. In 1980, Yanayev was named chairman of the Union of Friendship Societies with Foreign Countries. Six years later, he joined the central council of trade unions, and took over as chairman in April 1990.

Since March 1989, Yanayev had been head of the communist parliamentary group of deputies. He was also a member of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) foreign affairs commission, with responsibility for international issues.

Yanayev, who is married and has two children, before taking over as vice president had expressed reservations about Gorbachev. While trade union leader, he had notably warned of a danger of "civil war" because of Gorbachev's reforms.

Rumors Report Gorbachev Dead or Injured

AU1908065691 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 0643 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Gorbachev, who has been vacationing in the Crimean since 4 August, was expected back in Moscow today. According to rumors in Sverdlovsk (Urals), he is dead or injured. This has, however, not been confirmed. [passage omitted]

Yanayev Message to UN, Heads of State

LD1908050291 Moscow TASS in English 0427 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—Following is the full text of Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev's address to heads of state and government and the U.N. secretary general:

"At the instruction of the Soviet leadership I thereby notify that a state of emergency is introduced in individual localities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for a period of six months from August 19, 1991 in keeping with the Constitution and laws of the USSR.

All power in the country is transferred for this period to the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR.

The measures that are being adopted are temporary. They in no way mean renunciation of the course towards profound reforms in all spheres of life of the state and society.

These are forced measures, dictated by the vital need to save the economy from ruin and the country from hunger, to prevent the escalation of the threat of a large-scale civil conflict with unpredictable consequences for the peoples of the USSR and the entire international community.

The most important objective of the state of emergency is to secure conditions that would guarantee each citizen personal safety and the safety of his or her property.

It is envisaged to liquidate anti-constitutional, ungovernable and essentially criminal military formations spreading moral and physical terror in several regions of the USSR and serving as a catalyst for disintegration processes.

The entire range of measures adopted is directed at the earliest stabilisation of the situation in the USSR, the normalisation of socio-economic life, the implementation of necessary transformations and the creation of conditions for the country's all-round development.

Any other way would lead to enhanced confrontation and violence, to the innumerable suffering of our peoples and the creation of a dangerous focus of tension from the viewpoint of international security.

The temporary emergency measures in no mean affect international commitments assumed by the Soviet Union under existing treaties and agreements.

The USSR is prepared to develop further its relations with all states on the basis of universally recognised principles

of good-neighbourliness, equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs of each other.

We are convinced that our current difficulties are transitory in character and the Soviet Union's contribution to preserving peace and consolidating international security will remain substantial.

The leadership of the USSR hopes that the temporary emergency measures will find proper understanding on the part of the peoples and governments, and the United Nations Organisation.
Gennadiy Yanayev
Acting president of the USSR
August 18, 1991."

'State of Emergency' Carried

LD1908042591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0329 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Aug (TASS)—In connection with the fact that it is impossible for Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, through the state of his health, to fulfill the duties of president of the USSR and with the transfer in accordance with Article 127/7 of the Constitution of the USSR of the powers of the president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to Gennadiy Yanayev, vice president of the USSR;

With a view to overcoming the deep and multilateral crisis, the political, interethnic, and civil confrontation, the chaos and anarchy that threaten the life and security of citizens of the Soviet Union, the sovereignty, territorial integrity, freedom and independence of our motherland;

Proceeding from the results of the nationwide referendum on the preservation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Being guided by the vital interests of the peoples of our homeland, of all Soviet people,

We state:

1. In accordance with Article 127/3 [as received] of the Constitution of the USSR, and Article 2 of the Law of the USSR 'On the Legal Regime of State of Emergency', and meeting the demands of the broad sections of the population for the need to adopt the most resolute measures to avert society's slide towards a national catastrophe, to guarantee legality and order, that a state of emergency be introduced in individual localities of the USSR for a period of six months as of 0400 Moscow time on 19 August 1991.

2. That it be established that the Constitution of the USSR and the laws of the USSR have unconditional superiority on the whole territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. That a State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR [SCSE USSR] be formed to govern the country, and implement effectively the state of emergency regime, with the following members: Baklanov, O.D., first deputy chairman of the Defense Council of the USSR; Kryuchkov, V.A., chairman of the USSR KGB; Pavlov, V.S., prime minister of the USSR; Pugo, B.K. minister of internal affairs of the USSR; Starodubtsev, V.A., chairman of the Peasants' Union of the USSR; Tizyakov, A.I., president of the Association of State Enterprises and Industrial Facilities, Construction, Transport, and Communications of the USSR; Yazov, D.T., minister of defense of the USSR; Yanayev, G.I., acting president of the USSR.

4. That it be established the decisions of the SCSE USSR are binding, and must be implemented rigorously by all bodies of power and administration, officials, and citizens of the whole territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

G. Yanayev;
V. Pavlov;
O. Baklanov.

Overview of 'State of Emergency'

LD1908071491 Moscow TASS in English 0656 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—In a decree made public in the Soviet Union today, Vice-President Gennadiy Yanayev announced that Mikhail Gorbachev is unable to perform his duties as national president for health reasons.

On the strength of Article 127, Clause 7, of the USSR Constitution, Yanayev, 54, assumed the duties of Soviet president from August 19, 1991.

The Soviet leadership today released a statement announcing the decision to impose a state of emergency in some parts of the USSR for a period of six months, in effect from 4:00 am Moscow time, August 19, 1991, and declaring that the Constitution and laws of the USSR take unconditional precedence throughout soviet territory.

To govern the country and exercise with efficiency state of emergency regulations, a decision has been adopted to set up a state committee for the state of emergency in the USSR.

The Soviet leadership's statement indicates that decisions by the committee for the state of emergency are mandatory for all bodies of authority and government, officials and citizens throughout soviet territory.

The statement has been signed by Yanayev, Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov and First Deputy Chairman of the Defence Council Oleg Baklanov.

In a statement circulated this morning, Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, criticised the published text of the Union treaty.

Lukyanov observed that the Supreme Soviet's remarks about the expediency of envisaging in the draft Union treaty the existence of a single economic space, a single banking system and the preservation of Union property, demand for the fixation of independent tax deductions into the Union budget and several other provisions were not duly reflected in the text.

All these problems, Lukyanov stated, demand additional discussions at the USSR Supreme Soviet and then, probably, at the Congress of People's Deputies.

Yanayev's address to heads of state and government and the U.N. secretary-general was made public in Moscow today.

Yanayev emphasised that the temporary emergency measures in no way affect the international commitments assumed by the Soviet Union under existing treaties and agreements.

The USSR is prepared to develop its relations with all states on the basis of universally recognised principles of good-neighbourliness, equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in one another's affairs.

Yanayev expressed confidence that the current difficulties are transitory in character and the Soviet Union's contribution to preserving peace and consolidating international security will remain substantial.

The Soviet leadership hopes, the address says, that the temporary emergency measures will find proper understanding on the part of peoples and governments and the United Nations Organisation.

The committee for the state of emergency in the USSR, in an appeal to the Soviet people, declared that it assumes full responsibility for the fate of motherland and is fully resolved to undertake most serious measures to lead the state and society out of crisis.

"We advocate truly democratic processes and consistent reform policies helping update our motherland and achieve its economic and social prosperity, which will enable it to take a worthy place in the world community of nations," the committee's address said.

"We are a peace-loving nation and will unfailingly honour all assumed commitments," the committee stressed.

"Any attempts at talking to our country in the language of dictates, no matter by whom, will be decisively cut short," it added.

Emergency Committee Issues Message

LD1908062891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0338 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Fellow countrymen! Citizens of the Soviet Union!

In a dark and critical hour for the destiny of our country and of our peoples, we address you! A mortal danger hangs over our great homeland! The policy of reform initiated by M.S.Gorbachev, conceived as a means to ensure the dynamic development of the country and the democratization of the life of its society, has, for a number of reasons, come to a dead end. The original enthusiasm and hopes have been replaced by lack of belief, apathy, and despair. Authority at all levels has lost the confidence of the population. Politicking has left no room in public life for concern for the fate of our country and of the citizen. Malicious mockery of all the institutions of the state is being implanted. The country has in effect become ungovernable.

Taking advantage of the freedoms that have been granted, trampling on the shoots of democracy that have only just appeared, extremist forces emerged that adopted a course of destroying the Soviet Union, seeking the collapse of the state, and aiming to seize power at all costs. They scorned the results of the nationwide referendum on the unity of the homeland. Cynical profiteering on national feelings was only a screen for the satisfaction of ambition. Neither the present misfortunes of their peoples nor the future of those peoples concerns the political adventurists. Creating an atmosphere of psychological and political terror and attempting to use the people's confidence as a screen, they forget that the ties being condemned and severed by them were established on the basis of far broader popular trust which, furthermore, has stood the test of many centuries of history.

Today, however, those who basically are working to overthrow the constitutional system must answer to mothers and fathers for the death of many hundreds of victims of interethnic conflicts. On their conscience are the maimed lives of over half a million refugees. Thanks to them, life has lost its tranquillity and joy for tens of millions of Soviet people, who only yesterday were living in a united family but who today find themselves outcasts in their own home.

It is for the people to decide what kind of social system there is to be, but attempts are being made to deprive them of this right.

Instead of concerning themselves with the security and well-being of each citizen and of the whole of society, those who find themselves in power not infrequently use that power in interests alien to the people, as a means of unprincipled self-assertion. The spate of words and the mountains of declarations and promises only underline the poverty and wretchness of their practical actions. The inflation of power, more terrible than any other, is tearing our state and our society apart. Every citizen feels a growing uncertainty about tomorrow and deep alarm for his children's future.

The crisis of power has had a catastrophic effect on the economy. The chaotic and uncontrolled slide toward the market has aroused an explosion of egoism—regional, departmental, group and individual. The war of laws and the encouragement of centrifugal trends has meant the destruction of the unified machinery of the national economy which has taken decades to evolve. The result has been a sharp decline in the standard of living of the great majority of Soviet people and the flourishing of speculation and the black economy. It is high time to tell the people the truth: Unless we take urgent and resolute measures to stabilize the economy, we shall inevitably face, in the very nearest future, famine and a new turn of the spiral of impoverishment, from which it is but a single step to mass manifestations of spontaneous discontent, with devastating consequences. Only irresponsible people

can put their hope in some sort of help from abroad. No handouts will solve our problems; our salvation is in our own hands. The time has come to measure the prestige of each person or organization by their real contribution to the recovery and development of the national economy.

For long years we have been hearing on every side incantations about adherence to the interests of the individual and concern for his rights and social protection. Yet in fact, the human being has found himself degraded, encroached upon in his real rights and opportunities, and driven to despair.

All democratic institutes, created by the will of the people, are losing before our very eyes their weight and efficiency. This is the result of deliberate actions by those who, flagrantly trampling upon the basic law of the USSR, are, in fact, carrying out an anti-constitutional coup, and reaching out toward an unbridled personal dictatorship. Prefectures, mayoralties and other illegal structures are replacing in an increasingly arbitrary way the soviets elected by the people.

The attack on the rights of working people is under way. The right to work, to education, to health, housing, and rest have been jeopardized.

Even the elementary personal security of people is coming under threat more and more. Crime is growing quickly, is becoming organized and politicized. The country is sinking into an abyss of violence and lawlessness. Never in the history of the country has the propaganda of sex and violence had such a scope, threatening the life and health of future generations. Millions of people are demanding the adoption of measures against the octopus of crime and scandalous immorality.

The deepening destablization of the political and economic situation in the Soviet Union is undermining our position in the world. Revanchist notes have been heard in some places; demands are being put forward for the review of our borders. Voices are even being heard calling for the dismantling of the Soviet Union and the possibility of establishing international guardianship of individual facilities and areas of the country. Such is the bitter reality. Only yesterday, the Soviet person who was abroad felt himself to be a worthy citizen of an influential and respected state. Now he is often a second-class foreigner, treatment of whom bears the seal of disdain or pity.

The pride and honour of the Soviet person must be restored fully.

The State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR is fully aware of the depth of the crisis afflicting our country: It takes upon itself responsibility for the fate of the motherland and is fully determined to adopt the most serious measures to lead the state and society out of the crisis as quickly as possible.

We promise to conduct a broad, nationwide debate on the draft of the new Union treaty. Everyone will have the right and opportunity to analyse this extremely important document in a calm atmosphere, and to decide where they stand on it, as the fate of numerous peoples in our great motherland will depend on what becomes of the Union.

We intend to restore without delay legality, law, and order, to put an end to bloodshed, to declare a merciless war on the criminal world, and to root out shameful manifestations which discredit our society and humiliate Soviet citizens. We will cleanse the streets of our cities of criminal elements and put an end to the tyranny of those who plunder the people's assets.

We stand for truly democratic processes, for a consistent policy of reform, leading to a renewal of our motherland, to its economic and social prosperity, which will make it possible for it to occupy a worthy place in the world community of nations.

The country's development must not be based on a fall in the population's living standard. A steady increase in the well-being of all citizens will become the norm in a healthy society.

Without slackening our concern for the strengthening and protection of individual rights, we shall concentrate attention on defending the interests of the broadest layers of the population, those who have been hurt most by inflation, the disorganisation of production, corruption and crime.

Developing the mixed character of the national economy, we will also support private enterprise, granting it the necessary opportunities for developing production and the sphere of services. Our primary concern will be solution of the food and housing problems. All available forces will be mobilized to satisfy these most pressing requirements of the people.

We call on workers, peasants, the labor intelligentsia, and all Soviet people to restore labor discipline and order in the shortest period of time, raise the level of production and consequently move forward decisively. Our life and the future of our children and grandchildren and the fate of the fatherland depend on this.

We are a peace-loving country and will firmly adhere to all obligations we have undertaken. We have no claims against anyone. We wish to live with all in peace and friendship. But we firmly declare that encroachment on our sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity will not be permitted at any time or by anyone. All attempts to speak to our country in the language of diktat, no matter from where they originate, will be resolutely suppressed. Our multi-ethnic people have lived for ages full of pride for their motherland. We never felt shame for our patriotic feelings and consider it natural and lawful to bring up the current and future generations of citizens of our great power in this spirit.

To be inactive at this hour, which is so critical for the fate of the fatherland, would mean to accept the heavy responsibility for the tragic and truly unpredictable consequences. Everyone for whom our motherland is dear, who wants to live and labor in a situation of tranquility and

confidence, who finds continuing bloody interethic conflicts unacceptable, and who sees his fatherland independent and prosperous in the future, must make the only correct choice.

We appeal to all genuine patriots, people of good will to put an end to the current time of turmoil [smutnoye vremya]. We appeal to all citizens of the Soviet Union to recognize their duty before the motherland and extend all possible support to the State Committee on the Emergency Situation in the USSR and efforts to lead the country out of the crisis.

Constructive proposals of public and political organizations, labor collectives, and citizens will be gratefully received as an expression of their patriotic readiness to actively participate in the restoration of the ages-old friendship in the unified family of fraternal peoples and revival of the fatherland.
[Signed] The State Committee on the Emergency Situation in the USSR.
18 August 1991.

Emergency Committee Issues First Decision

LD1908090691 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 0805 GMT 19 Aug 91

["Decision No. 1 of the State Committee for the State of Emergency (SCSE) in the USSR;" from an unscheduled "Vremya" newscast—read by announcer]

[Text] To defend the vitally important interests of the peoples and citizens of the USSR and the independence and territorial integrity of the country; restore legality and law and order; stabilize the situation, surmount the gravest crisis; and prevent chaos, anarchy, and a fratricidal civil war, the SCSE in the USSR resolves:

1. All bodies of power and administration of the USSR, the Union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, cities, rayons, settlements, and villages are to ensure strict observance of the state of emergency regime in accordance with the law of the USSR On the Legal Regime of a State of Emergency and with the decisions of the SCSE in the USSR. In cases of inability to ensure this regime, the powers of the relevant bodies of power and administration are to be suspended and carrying out their functions is entrusted to persons specially empowered by the SCSE.

2. Immediately to disband the structures of power and administration and paramilitary formations acting contrary to the USSR Constitution and USSR laws.

3. To deem henceforth invalid laws and decisions of bodies of power and administration that contradict the USSR Constitution and USSR laws.

4. To suspend the activity of political parties, public organizations, and mass movements hindering the normalization of the situation.

5. In view of the fact that the SCSE in the USSR is temporarily assuming the functions of the USSR Security Council, the activities of the latter are suspended.

6. Citizens, institutions, and organizations are, without delay, to surrender all types of illegally held firearms, ammunition, explosives, military equipment, and gear. The USSR Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD], KGB, and USSR Defense Ministry are to ensure strict implementation of this requirement. In the event of a refusal to comply, these items are to be confiscated by force, and the offenders are to be held strictly liable, both criminally and administratively.

7. The procuratorate, MVD, KGB, and USSR Defense Ministry are to organize effective cooperation between the law enforcement agencies and the armed forces to ensure protection of public order and state security, of society and citizens in accordance with the USSR Law on the Legal Operation of the Emergency Situation and Decisions of the SCSE in the USSR.

The holding of meetings, street processions, demonstrations, and strikes is banned.

If need be, a curfew and patrolling of territory are to be introduced, inspections carried out, and measures taken to intensify border and customs checks.

The most important state and economic installations and vital systems are to be taken under control and, if necessary, placed under guard.

The spreading of provocative rumors and actions that provoke breaches of law and order and stir up interethnic discord and disobedience to officials who are responsible for ensuring that the operation of the emergency situation is complied with are to be resolutely nipped in the bud.

8. To establish control [kontrol] over the means of mass information, entrusting its implementation to a specially formed body under the SCSE in the USSR.

9. Organs of authority and administration and the leaders of institutions and enterprises are to take measures to improve the state of organization and the establishment of order and discipline in all spheres of life of society. They are to ensure the normal functioning of enterprises of all branches of the national economy, the strict implementation of measures for preserving and restoring during the period of stabilization the vertical and horizontal links between the subjects of management [sub'yekty khozyaystvovaniya] throughout the territory of the USSR, and the rigorous fulfilment of the established volumes of production and the supplies of raw and other materials and spare parts.

To establish and maintain a regime of strict economizing in material-technical and currency resources and to work out and implement specific measures to combat mismanagement and squandering of national property.

To wage a resolute struggle against the shadow economy and to apply firm measures of criminal and administrative responsibility for acts of corruption, embezzlement, speculation, concealment of goods from sale, mismanagement and other offenses in the economic field.

To create favorable conditions for increasing the real contribution of all kinds of entrepreneurial activity being

achieved in accordance with the laws of the USSR to the economic potential of the country and to ensuring the essential requirements of the population.

10. To regard work on a permanent basis in the structures of authority and administration as incompatible with the adoption of entrepreneurial activities.

11. Within one week the USSR Cabinet of Ministers is to draw up an inventory of all available resources of essential food and industrial goods, inform the people of what the country has at its disposal, and keep storage and distribution of these goods under the strictest control; abolish any restrictions hindering the transportation of food and consumer goods, as well as material resources for producing them around the territory of the USSR, and keep tight control over the observance of this procedure; pay particular attention to the priority supply of preschool institutions for children, children's homes, schools, secondary special and higher educational institutions, hospitals and also pensioners and invalids; put forward proposals within a week to regulate, freeze, and reduce prices for certain types of industrial goods and foodstuffs, primarily for children, as well as services to the population and public catering and also to raise salaries, pensions, allowances, and compensation payments to various categories of citizens; formulate within the next two weeks measures to regulate the size of salary for leaders at all levels of state, public, cooperative and other establishments, organizations, and enterprises.

12. In view of the criticial situation regarding the harvest and the threat of famine, to take emergency measures to organize procurement, storage, and processing of agricultural produce; give rural workers the maximum possible assistance in terms of equipment, spare parts, fuel and lubricants, and so forth; and immediately to organize the dispatch of whatever number of industrial and office workers from enterprises and organizations, students and servicemen that is needed to save the harvest to the countryside.

13. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers is hereby instructed to work out, within a week, a resolution to ensure the provision in 1991 and 1992 of plots of land for fruit and vegetable-growing, measuring up to 0.15 hectare, to each and every city dweller who so wishes.

14. The Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR should complete, within two week's, drawing up plans for emergency measures to be taken to pull the country's fuel-and-power complex out of the crisis and prepare for the winter.

15. Within one month practical measures for 1992 should be prepared and reported to the people to radically improve housing construction and ensure the provision of housing to people. Within six months, a practical programme should be worked out to expedite the development of state, cooperative, and individual house-building in the next five years.

16. It is hereby made incumbent on the central and local bodies of authority and government to pay priority attention to people's social needs and pinpoint areas for substantial improvement of free health services and public education.

Second Decree Issued

LD1908150291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1436 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Aug (TASS)—Decree number 2 of the State Committee on the State of Emergency in the USSR "on the issue of central, Moscow city, and oblast papers" has been disseminated here today. It says:

"In connection with the introduction of the state of emergency in Moscow and several other areas of the USSR, and in accordance with Paragraph 14, Article 4 of the Law of the USSR "On the Legal Provisions Governing a State of Emergency," the State Committee on the State of Emergency in the USSR decrees:

1. Temporarily to restrict the list of central, Moscow city, and oblast sociopolitical editions published to the following newspapers: 'TRUD,' 'RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA,' 'IZVESTIYA,' 'PRAVDA,' 'KRASNAYA ZVEZDA,' 'SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA,' 'MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA,' 'LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA,' 'SELSKAYA ZHIZN.'

2. The resumption of publication of other central, Moscow city, and oblast newspapers and sociopolitical publications will be decided by a specially created body of the City Committee for the State of Emergency [GKCHP] of the USSR.

Troop Carriers Head for Downtown Moscow

AU1908080691 Paris AFP in English 0749 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP)—A column of more than 150 armoured personnel carriers mounted with automatic machine guns and carrying armed troops was approaching Moscow city center Monday, a French reporter said.

The column was approaching the city from the direction of Minsk, west of the capital, he said.

Part of the column was stopped near a monument on the outskirts of the city while the remainder was heading for the ring road which encircles the center of Moscow and was currently about three kilometers from the center, the journalist said.

The vehicles were travelling slowly with their lights on and were carrying troops armed with Kalashnikov rifles.

The independent BALTFAX news agency, quoting Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, reported earlier that armoured personnel carriers had been seen in parts of the city center.

Silayev said that "the Russian government is functioning" for the time being.

It was reported separately that Russian President Boris Yeltsin was calling a news conference for 11:00 a.m. (0800 GMT)

Troops Assume Positions in Moscow

AU1908090691 Paris AFP in English 0839 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP)—Tanks and armoured vehicles took up position Monday at strategic points in the Soviet capital, AFP correspondents said.

Armoured columns entered the city in mid-morning, and took up positions notably around the defence ministry, the central television station, the government newspaper IZVESTIYA, and outside the Bolshoy Theatre beside Red Square.

Others were stationed in streets around the Russian parliament building on the banks of the Moskova River.

Tanks Sighted in Moscow, TV Tower Occupied

LD1908090991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0800 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] At 1025 a Baltic News Service correspondent reported from Moscow that major movement of tanks has been observed in Moscow. Along Vernadskiy an Kutuzovskiy Prospects two tank regiments are advancing toward the center of the city. There are [words indistinct] T-54 tanks in the streets of the city. Along Moscow-Minsk Road, before the Moscow circular road, armored transporters and other military equipment have been spotted within a distance of 30 kilometers. According to observers, the military will proceed towards the building of the Russian Supreme Soviet first and foremost. According to unofficial data, the military have occupied the Ostankino television tower.

KGB Takes Over Echo Radio Station

AU1908083491 Paris AFP in English 0713 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP) - The KGB has taken over the pro-reform Moscow city radio station, which has been jammed since the announcement of Mikhail Gorbachev's ouster as president, sources at city hall said Monday.

A spokesman told AFP that about 15 KGB secret police burst into the radio station, controlled by pro-reform local authorities, and ordered the staff to leave.

Journalists said earlier the radio station, Moscow Echo, could no longer broadcast.

Special Troops Seal Off Red Square

AU1908110191 Paris AFP in English 1049 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP)—Special Soviet Interior Ministry troops sealed off all access to Red Square after forcing a growing group of demonstrators to clear the area, witnesses said.

A military official, addressing protesters with a loudspeaker, said that "the army is with the people. Those who send us are for reform."

But remarks provoked angry shouts from some of the demonstrators and one of them called on the protesters to move over to the Russian parliament building about a mile away to prevent the Army from taking control of the premises.

Some of the protesters appeared to be heeding the call while others chose to remain near the Kremlin.

Several thousand demonstrators on Manezhnaya Square outside the walls of the Kremlin used their own vehicles, buses and a crane to block the accesses to the square.

Demonstrators, waving Russian flags and portraits of the republic's president Boris Yeltsin, climbed onto the vehicles, stopping their advance.

Soldiers fraternised with the demonstrators and helped them clamber aboard their vehicles.

"Yeltsin President," the crowd shouted, "Army look out".

The demonstration was called by the Democratic Russia movement to protest against Gorbachev's ouster and gathered momentum after a column of troop transporters and trucks carrying soldiers attempted to pass.

Citizens Gather Near City Soviet

LD1908101891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Report by correspondent Jaan Raudsepp from Moscow]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] And the latest news from here, from Moscow. The situation is getting somewhat more anxious. According to the current information people are gathering at Tverskoy Prospect—the former (?Gorkiy) prospect—near the Moscow City Soviet, with attempts made to hamper the advance of the military vehicles toward the center of the city. And evidently quite soon a rally will start there which according to the first decree—and namely the decree of the extraordinary committee—has been banned. All mass gatherings starting from the time the extraordinary situation was established have been banned. Jaan Raudsepp, Moscow.

10,000 Protestors Assemble in Moscow

LD1908111591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] In Moscow, protestors against the removal of Gorbachev have barricaded themselves with trolley-cars. More than 10,000 people have assembled at the appeal of the Russian Democratic Movement, and they have condemned the measures of the new leadership. However, in opposition to them more and more military vehicles are arriving, transporting armed men to the area. Armored vehicles and army tanks in the meantime have also occupied the strategically important points in Moscow. They have surrounded the headquarters of the Russian parliament and television, preventing the federation's deputies from getting in.

MVD Paying 'Serious Attention' to Order

LD1908112891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1011 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Aug (TASS)—Andrey Chernenko, head of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] center for public relations, had this to say on a TASS correspondent's question on the USSR MVD measures on the known decisions made by the country's political leadership: The USSR MVD leadership is currently paying most serious attention to the state of public order.

Boris Pugo, minister of the USSR MVD, specifically stressed at an urgent meeting the necessity of stepping up the protection of civic interests of the country's population, irrespective of its place of residence, nationality, or social status.

The certain restoration of the vertical structure of the country's bodies of internal affairs is a necessary measure for the successful implementation of this program. The relevant information is being distributed to the regional internal affairs ministries.

Liberal Democrats Support Action

LD1908083891 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—The Supreme Council of the USSR Liberal Democratic Party today declared its "full support for the transfer of all power over Soviet territory to the State Committee of the State of Emergency in the USSR and the restoration of the USSR Constitution throughout the country's territory."

The Council emphasised that "in connection with the establishment of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR, a real opportunity has emerged to terminate internal civil war and prevent state institutes from sliding into chaos, the collapse of the economy and, as a consequence, hunger and pauperisation of the people."

The document calls for "full support for the state committee of the state of emergency in the USSR, established in accordance with the operating USSR Constitution."

Borders Remain Open, Calm

AU1908093291 Paris AFP in English 0908 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Helsinki, Aug 19 (AFP)—Soviet authorities on Monday closed the port at Tallinn, the Estonian capital, but other countries bordering the Soviet Union reported that frontier posts remained open following the ouster of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

A spokesman for Helsinki port authorities, announcing the Tallinn port closure, said the Estonian ferry George Ots, which was to have sailed for Tallinn on Monday, did not leave Helsinki port and passengers' tickets were refunded.

A regular ferry service operates between Helsinki and the pro-independence Baltic state.

Finnish border guards stepped up surveillance at border posts.

At Vartius, near Kuhmos in eastern Finland, road traffic from Finland to the Soviet Union was halted by Soviet border guards.

But coaches carrying Finnish tourists home were allowed through, reliable sources said.

Norwegian customs officials said Norway's northern Kirkenes border post with the Soviet Union was open as usual.

The Soviet-Polish border was functioning "normally" on Monday, Polish border guards spokesman Jaroslaw Zukowicz said.

"The Soviet side is controlling movements normally," and cross-border traffic was moving in both directions at 8.30 a.m. (0630 GMT), Zukowicz said.

An official Polish spokesman meanwhile said there was "no movement" by Soviet troops in Poland on Monday morning. Poland neighbours the republics of Lithuania, Belorussia and Ukraine.

A total 50,000 Soviet soldiers are still stationed in Poland, while negotiations continue for their repatriation.

The SAS Scandinavian airline said it was continuing its regular flights with Moscow, and the Estonian and Latvian capitals, Tallinn and Riga.

A Turkish Armed Forces General Staff spokesman said no emergency measures were taken Monday along Turkey's 610-km (381-mile) border.

Turkish border officials at Sarp, bordering the Abkhazia Autonomous Republic which is part of southern Soviet Georgia, said the crossing was open on Monday morning.

Hungary's 43.5-mile (69 km) border with the Soviet Union was also quiet, Hungarian Border Guard spokesman Janos Zubek said Monday.

He added that no sign of troops reinforcements were seen on the Soviet side from Hungary.

"No troops reinforcements arrived at the Soviet side of the border and none attempted to flee to Hungary," Colonel Zubek said.

Reformist Officer Stopped, Taken Away

AU1908084491 Paris AFP in English 0814 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP)—Vitaly Yuratsev, a leading reformer discharged from the Soviet military, was stopped by security forces Monday outside the Russian parliament building and taken to an unknown destination, witnesses said.

Yuratsev was heading for the building in the company of his father when they were attacked with teargas by two men in civilian clothes. Yuratsev was hustled into a white Volga and taken away, they said.

It was the first reported detainment of a reformist figure since the overthrow of Mikhail Gorbachev was announced earlier Monday.

Yuratsev, a former colonel, was forcibly discharged from the army for his reformist views.

Several Changes in Soviet Media Behavior Reported

Programming on First All-Union Channel Only

OW1908083491

[Editorial Report] Moscow CTV1 and Orbita networks in Russian (Orbita-1) at 0804 GMT on 19 August interrupts a program of piano music to carry an unscheduled Novosti newscast. The announcer appears and reads Decree No. 1 of the State Committee for the Emergency Situation, SCES, of the USSR. The decree, consisting of 16 points, spells out centralized control over local structures of power, requires disbandment of illegal military groups, puts controls on the press, suspends the defense council, and calls for the surrender of all arms.

The special newscast ends at 0814 GMT at which time an announcer reports that "Today, on 19 August, in all regions of the country the TV programs will be broadcast only from the first all-union channel." The program of piano music resumes at 0816 GMT.

Radio Rossii Announcement Not Heard

LD1908112391

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Second Program Radio-2 Network in Russian at 1100 GMT on 19 August is not observed to carry the normal announcement signifying the start of Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian broadcasting. Instead, a literary program is announced, consisting of a play by Dostoyevskiy.

Leningrad TV 'Notably Affected'

AU1908110791 Paris AFP in English 1026 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP)—Russian television's programs were cancelled as of Monday and the same program was to be broadcast on all channels, a Soviet television announcer said.

The announcement, which gave no other details, followed Mikhail Gorbachev's removal as Soviet president and the creation of a federal state of emergency committee.

It notably affected the highly popular Leningrad station, which has drawn viewers with its non-conformist programs though none were shown early Monday.

Since last spring, Russian television had started broadcasting special programs several hours a day, including two news programs each evening.

Special Session To View State of Emergency

LD1908142191 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—The Soviet Parliament will go into a special session on August 26 in Moscow in view of the submission for its endorsement of the decision to impose a state of emergency in some parts of the USSR, the parliament speaker announced in a ruling issued here today.

General Dismisses Talk About Military Coup

AU1608192691 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 15 Aug 91 p 4

[Interview with Colonel General Gennadiy Stefanovskiy, deputy commander of the Main Military-Political Administration of the USSR Armed Forces, by IAN correspondent Vladimir Gavrikov; place and date not given: "We Are Not a Party of Soldiers"—"written for VEREJNOST"]

[Text] [Gavrikov] Materials analyzing the threat of a military coup in the USSR have recently appeared in both Soviet and Western mass information media. To what extent does the domestic political situation warrant such considerations, in your opinion?

[Stefanovskiy] I concede that it would be possible to resolve some domestic political problems by the use of force. However, only someone who knows absolutely nothing about the mentality of our soldiers and officers can expect their readiness to stage a military coup and to give themselves up to a dictatorship. After all, a military coup would deprive our country of the historic chance of its renewal!

[Gavrikov] It is conceivable that the unrest of those concerned about a military coup is caused also by the frequent critical statements by some military representatives who are members of the USSR Supreme Soviet about President Gorbachev's internal and foreign policies....

[Stefanovskiy] It needs to be realized that critical statements in parliament are simply part and parcel of it. Many military representatives who are deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet represent not only the interests of the army and the navy, on whose behalf they were delegated to it, but also the interests, sentiments, and the will of the most diverse strata of the population. We simply do not view Mikhail Gorbachev as an object of uncritical devotion or a perfect politician. I believe that our view of the political line implemented by the leadership of the country, too, is realistic. Not all military representatives respond unequivocally, for example, to the accelerated steps toward rapprochement with the West, to unilateral concessions in disarmament issues, or to the hasty return of troops [from Eastern Europe] home. We would welcome it if the country's leadership showed a greater concern for the everyday social needs of soldiers and for increasing the attractiveness of military service. In my opinion, from time to time all these things become manifested in some

rather emotionally-tuned statements by some military representatives who are simultaneously parliamentary deputies.

[Gavrikov] Many people are convinced that in the present situation the army represents the sole guarantee of the Soviet Union's stability and preservation. On the other hand, the view is rather widespread that the troops' involvement in the settlement of nationality problems only enhances separatist tendencies and brings the political situation in the country to a head. Where is the truth?

[Stefanovskiy] I believe that none of these views is quite accurate and correct. The army is, of course, an important political institution supporting the stability of society and the integrity of the state, but it is far from being the only such institution. Let us properly appreciate the role of the Supreme Soviet and the president! After all, if we wanted to separate the Armed Forces from them, it would mean that we are pitting them, directly or indirectly, against ourselves and supporting "enthusiasts" who harangue for a military dictatorship. I am convinced that the army stands in the way of centrifugal tendencies and puts a damper on extremism and political adventures not so much by using force as by observing calm and showing self-restraint.

Aleksandr Yakovlev Resigns From CPSU 16 August

LD1608150191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1345 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Aleksandr Yakovlev, former CPSU Central Committee secretary, issued a statement today about his leaving the Communist Party, an IMMAPRESS agency correspondent reported. Only yesterday a decision was adopted by the Central Control Commission Presidium on excluding Aleksandr Nikolayevich from the CPSU. Yakovlev said he wanted to relieve the members of the primary organization and of the Central Committee apparat of carrying out their heavy responsibility so that they might not suffer. Our correspondent is due to meet Aleksandr Nikolayevich today, and in the evening we plan to broadcast an interview with one of the fathers of perestroyka.

Yakovlev Interviewed

LD1608232491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2045 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] As we have already reported, the CPSU Central Control Commission adopted a recomendation on expelling Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev from the ranks of the CPSU. Correspondents of the "Vesti" program and of Russia's Radio met with him today. Aleksandr Yakovlev informed them that he had signed a statement on his resignation from the CPSU. He signed it today. However, the talk did not start from a question on his decision to leave the CPSU, but from a different question, about a campaign which is being waged against Aleksandr Yakovlev and representatives of democratically minded communists. Let us listen to the recording:

[Begin recording] [Yakovlev] This is not the first time that you have asked me this question. It kept being raised, first of all at almost all the plenums after the [beginning of] perestroyka. I was subjected to criticism from those who spoke, for everything that has been taking place in the country. I do not even remember any instance when I was not....

[Unidentified correspondent interrupts] So, this has been shaping up for a long time?

[Yakovlev] Yes, a certain atmosphere has been shaping....

[Correspondent interrupts] Shall we say, that of blackening?

[Yakovlev] Yes, some sort of blackening, fabrications, attacks—you cannot possibly be serious in suggesting that one man only has messed up the whole country: messed up the ideology, the party, the social system, the (?communist) movement.

[Correspondent] Yes, this is rather....

[Yakovlev interrupts] The Baltics, you know, broke apart immediately after one single speech of mine. All of this is rather ridiculous.

[Correspondent] (?Where has everybody else been?)

[Yakovlev] I think I said in one of my speeches: Why don't all these critics try and put everything right, in the same way? But, speaking seriously, you have an obvious loss of sense of humor here. If one person can mess up the ideology, or say, the party, is such an ideology and such a party worth wery much, if just one person can mess it all up? Obviously, I am too much in the way of the revanchist movement, which is currently on the rise, a joint revanchist movement in all the spheres, within the party ranks, in the law and order bodies, and in military ranks as well as at the local level, etc. All of this has a tendency to consolidate, in a revanchist way. [end recording]

[Announcer] Correspondents of the Russian Television and Radio Company wondered what Aleksandr Yakovlev intends to do after what has happened.

[Begin recording] [Yakovlev] Of course, I still need to analyze, just like everybody else, to analyze. I do not think this is just an individual case. I tend to see a system here—the party apparatus getting rid of the influence of the reformist wing in the party. It was as early as before the 28th congress that I learned of a certain meeting in the Moskva Hotel: Those present were drunk. However, they came to a preliminary decision on the issue that the secretary general must be freed from the influence of Shevardnadze, myself, and and ohers like us, and everything would be all right.

[Correspondent] Did you know in advance that the Bureau of the Central Control Commission Presidium would examine this issue?

[Yakovlev] I did not know anything. I learned everything from a phone call from my wife, who by sheer chance was listening to the radio at the time.

[Correspondent] Why, do you think, the invesigation took place in your absence?

[Yakovlev] I think, because they had nothing to say.

[Correspondent] What do you think, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is a member of the same primary organization as you. Does he know what is going on regarding your party membership and in this conection, does he have influence on the situation in the party as a whole?

[Yakovlev] I do not know whether or not he knows, but I really would like to know this. This is a matter of principle to me, a matter of principle, first and foremost, in the ethical sense. I think he, comparatively speaking, does excercise control in the country, if not to the full extent. However, as to the party, I think he has control only to a very small extent. Otherwise, it is difficult to comprehend the actions of the leadership of the Russian Communist Party against perestroyka. If such control were being exercised, this would not be the case. At least, this issue would be raised at a plenum, in a sharp form. The question of why this is happening would be put directly. However, for instance, let us take the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. As early as at the time of the notorious letter, published long ago, by a lecturer from Leningrad, the newspaper started leading an anti-perestroyka line. On a regular basis, systematically, has it been leading the Russian society to a breakup, toward antagonism, so to speak.

It is prophesying neo-Bolshevism, neo-Stalinism—and yet, all this is allowed to go on. If there were some control, would this be possible?

[Correspondent] Judging by your statement, you are now in the position of being someone who has been offended, both by attitude to you....

[Yakovlev interrupts] No! It is a fact that I consider this to be a show of malicious injustice. But I am comforted by another fact. That is, that they have excluded themselves from the party, they have excluded themselves from social changes, and they have excluded themselves from the reforms which [remainder of item indistinct]. [end recording]

TASS Views Resignation, Reaction

LD1608182691 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—Aleksander Yakovlev, former Politburo member and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, has announced his withdrawal from the party. He made it in a statement sent to the primary party organisation at the Central Committee, in which he was registered. The statement was published by IZVESTIA today. It was received by the newspaper's editorial board from the press centre of the movement for democratic reforms. Yakovlev wrote in it that "a powerful Stalinist group has formed in the party's leadership, which opposes the 1985 political course and hampers social progress in the country."

Mass media circulated a report on August 15, which said that the Bureau of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Control Commission has decided that "because of Yakovlev's actions running counter to party rules and aimed at splitting the party, the commission believes that his further membership in the party is impossible." The commission sent this conclusion to the primary party organisation. Yakovlev wrote in his statement that nobody had discussed this problem with him and for this reason he believes that his "personal dignity has been insulted and rights of a party member have been violated." The statement points out that "contrary to its own declarations, the party leadership is ridding itself of the democratically-minded wing in the party, is working for a social revenge and preparing a coup in the party and the state."

Says Gorbachev Has 'Very Slight' Control

LD1608211291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Interview with former CPSU member Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev by unidentified correspondent on 16 August; place not given; from the "Vesti" newscast; first paragraph is announcer's introduction—recorded]

[Text] Today, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev sent a statement about leaving the party to the Party Committee of the CPSU Central Committee. This was the reply of the chief architect of perestroyka to yesterday's resolution by the Central Control Commission [CCC] which recommended expelling him from the CPSU. Today, the Political Council of the Democratic Reform Movement, of which Yakovlev is one of the leaders, made a statement that evaluates the CCC resolution as a blow to the intellectual and moral potential of the CPSU of which many of the movement's active participants are members.

[Correspondent] Did you know earlier that the bureau of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission would examine this issue?

[Yakovlev] I knew nothing. Nobody spoke to me at all.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is a member of the same primary organization as you. Does he know about what is going on regarding your party membership?

[Yakovlev] I do not know whether or not he knows, but I really would like to know this. At present, I do not know how I could find this out since he is on vacation, but I will of course ask him.

[Correspondent] Do you consider that the situation in the party now is, to a large extent, the work of those people who now stand at the head of the party?

[Yakovlev] The situation as it stands is a direct consequence of the leading group of a Stalinist persuasion which formed itself into the CPSU Central Committee and the party's Central Control Commission with the support of the Central Committee members and the secretaries of the party's oblast and kray committees.

[Correspondent] Could you name any of these people personally?

[Yakovlev] I really do not know whom I would not name.

[Correspondent] Is Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev controlling the situation in the party?

[Yakovlev] I think only to a very slight extent.

[Correspondent] Judging by your statement, you are now in the position of someone who has been offended.

[Yakovlev] I consider this to be a show of malicious injustice, that is a fact. But I am comforted by another fact. That is that they have excluded themselves from the party, they have excluded themselves from social changes, and they have excluded themselves from the reforms which the people are interested in seeing. But I will not exclude myself from this.

Warns of 'Stalinist Grouping' in CPSU

LD1608164791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From IZVESTIYA evening issue review]

[Text] The newspaper presents to the readers the statement by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, which was passed on to the editorial office by the press center of the Democratic Reform Movement. It reads: Yesterday, 15 August, I heard a report on the radio that the Central Control Commission had adopted a recommendation that I should be expelled from the ranks of the CPSU. Nobody had discussed this issue with me. My personal dignity has been insulted and the basic rights of a party member have been rudely trampled upon.

Yakovlev's statement further reads: I would like to warn society that an influential Stalinist grouping has formed itself inside the leading core of the party, which opposes the political course of 1985, and is thereby hampering social progress in the country. Under these conditions, I consider it no longer possible, and, indeed, immoral, to serve the cause of democratic reforms within the framework of the CPSU, and therefore I announce that I am leaving its ranks.

Shevardnadze Comments

LD1608213291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Yevgeniy Kiselev] Another view regarding the decision by the CPSU Central Control Commission to expel Yakovlev from the party—the view of someone who, like Yakovlev, was in the recent past one of the main creators of perestroyka and one of the closest associates of Gorbachev.

[Begin Eduard Shevardnadze recording] Yesterday they expelled Aleksandr Ryzhkov, today they have gotten rid of Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, a war hero and in my opinion a hero of perestroyka. Well, that is quite a conspicuous success, and perhaps the only success of the party leadership recently. But they don't evaporate, they remain in society and continue the struggle for democracy and for the renewal of society. [end recording]

Democratic Reform Movement Comments

OW1608185691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The council of the Democratic Reform Movement issued a statement concerning the CPSU Central Control Commission vis-a-vis Yakovlev. Specifically, the statement says that the move obviously deals a body blow to the intellectual and moral potential of the CPSU, the party many of the members of the Democratic Reform Movement are members of, as was Yakovlev. According to the movement's political council, a smear campaign is being intensified against the people who had tended the roots of reform in the USSR in order to morally terrorise democratic-minded communists.

According to the Political Council of the Democratic Reform Movement, part of the CPSU's leadership are searching a political revenge in the fight against the reforms during the runup to the 29th party congress.

"Condemning this practice, the Political Council of the Democratic Reform Movement warns all compatriots that moves of this kind can contribute to the creation of a political climate opening the possiblity of reviving totalitarianism in its most uncompromising and neo-Stalinist form".

Lukyanov Discusses Amending Union Treaty

LD1908060191 Moscow TASS in English 0432 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—A statement by Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was circulated here today, in which he expresses his attitude to the draft treaty of Union of sovereign states.

The draft treaty was supported on the whole by the USSR Supreme Soviet on July 12, 1991, the statement reads. The Supreme Soviet has formed a plenipotentiary Union delegation and assigned it to proceed, in adding final touches to and coordinating the draft treaty, from a number of provisions formulated by the supreme body of authority in the country.

First of all, the need was stressed to reflect in the title and basic principles of the treaty the results of the all-Union referendum in the course of which the absolute majority of the country's citizens supported the preservation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a revamped federation of equal sovereign republics.

A similar approach to the title and character of the Union state was formulated by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Detailed argumentation of this position of the USSR Supreme Soviet was made at a meeting of the heads of plenipotentiary delegations in Novo-Ogarevo.

Nonetheless, it was not reflected in the final text of the treaty. Naturally, this issue will undoubtedly demand extra discussion by the Congress of People's Deputies of the

USSR and, probably, an all-Union referendum connected with the adoption of a new constitution.

The USSR Supreme Soviet found it expedient to envisage in the draft Union treaty the presence in the USSR of a single economic space, a single banking system and the preservation as property of the Union the property that is required for its normal functioning as a federated state.

The demand for the introduction of independent tax deductions into the Union budget was stipulated specially.

Regrettably, these major provisions were not sufficiently clearly reflected in the published text of the treaty. This is also evidenced from the recent statements by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the board of the USSR State Bank and several other Union bodies. This will probably demand considerable amendments to the text of the treaty.

The USSR Supreme Soviet paid exclusively serious attention to the termination of the so-called "war of laws," in fact glaring lawlessness. In this connection, a norm was proposed for inclusion into the treaty to prevent the suspension by the USSR of republican laws and by the republics of Union laws, and the resolution of possible disputes through conciliatory procedures or rulings by the USSR constitutional court.

Despite the fact that this proposal was backed by leading Soviet lawyers, it failed to find proper reflection in the text of the treaty prepared in Novo-Ogarevo. There is no need to prove how dangerous this is for the formation of a stable legal system in our country.

The order of implementing the treaty during the transitional period to secure continuity in the operation of bodies of state authority and government demands a considerably clearer definition in the treaty.

Without this it is impossible to maintain, at least to the minimum extent, the functioning of the national economy in the extremely grave crisis situation in the country.

All these problems demand, in our opinion, extra discussion at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and then, probably, at the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Without this, such a document of crucial importance to the destinies of our state as the Union treaty cannot fully reflect the Soviet people's will to preserve the USSR, a great power called upon to serve the interests of citizens of all nationalities and exerting most serious influence on the international situation throughout the world, the statement says.

CPSU's Semenova, Kalashnikov on Party Program

LD1708112191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1947 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Studio discussion with Galina Semenova, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Vladimir Kalashnikov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; chaired by A. Ilyin, deputy editor in chief of PRAVDA; "Point of View" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Ilyin] [Video shows Ilyin, Semenova, and Kalashnikov seated in the studio] Good evening, respected comrades. The draft of the new CPSU program was published in PRAVDA on 8 August, and then in other party publications. Discussion of it is already under way and a broad-based discussion is unfolding. Today Central Television's telestudio Publitsist is beginning a series of programs devoted to the discussion of this draft. I would like to ask you this question: What attracts you personally in our new draft program? I stress personally, because it was always usual for secretaries of the Central Committee, all the more so members of the Politburo, to speak impersonally as if on behalf of the Politburo, and people always had the feeling that they were all speaking the same language.

[Semenova] As far as the same language is concerned—this is probably how it evidently was ages ago. Much is attractive. First and foremost I hope, I think, that the basis for consolidation has been attained. It has been attained primarily because both the principles and aims are based not on the sphere of pure ideology but on real life, on objective laws of social development, and on the Party's needs for renewal. And what, as you put it, attracts me most of all is the fact that a spade is called a spade: The socialism which we experienced was barrack-like, the lessons of history were hard. What is renounced, both the authors renounce, and our program commission has renounced it, there is none of it in this draft program—there is no utopia there, there are no utopias, there are no forced revolutions, there is our real life today and hopes of changing it. The main thing is that the individual is there. The individual with his problems today, the individual not only as the basic guideline for progress, let us say, but also the individual on behalf of whom this program has been created, because probably for me the main lesson is not to detach our proclaimed aims from people's real interests. That is what I would say to begin with.

[Ilyin] Thank you. Vladimir Valeryanovich.

[Kalashnikov] I am pleased that it has turned out to be a document which is not at all large in volume and which is precise in structure. It can be read, and today this is a necessary factor for success since the people are tired of political declarations and manifestos, and all the more so of theoretical treatises. However, on the other hand, this is quite a capacious document because the basic principles for the Party's activities are proclaimed, as well as the immediate and definitive aims of the Party. It also states whose interests the Party of Communists will defend and how it perceives its place in a society which is renewing itself. I am also pleased that this document is not only addressed toward the Party but also toward all workers. Its basic content is accessible to everyone. And perhaps the third point: This document is formed in such a way as to serve as the basis for the rapprochement of various trends in the Party. It is, in spirit, nonconfrontational. On the contrary, the program commission attempts not to impose definite positions but to present a basis for discussion which in the final analysis will change the emphases. [passage omitted]

[Kalashnikov] The fact is that we want to see at the basis of the new society a mixed, market economy, naturally a regulated market which is socially oriented, that is directed toward the interests of the workers. As the superstructure, we want to see a law-based democratic state in which the law is the supreme authority by which the citizen is guaranteed all basic economic and political rights. As far as in general the new, basic, more difficult problems are concerned which are contained in the draft CPSU program then, perhaps in my view, this is a problem of the interrelation between socialism and the market. Why are we turning to socialism and is it possible to combine the market? [Passage omitted: Semenova and Kalashnikov agree that there was discussion about this; Kalashnikov asks what the failings of the administrative-command system were and states that the main was the principle of socialist distribution in accordance to labor—people did not receive as they worked; Ilyin asserts that people are now not gaining in relation to labour—Kalashnikov dismisses this as a problem of the transition period]

[Ilyin] Someone said that the market is the worse of what there is but humanity has not yet invented anything better for the just resolution of these issues.

[Semenova] I think that everyone today already knows that the market which has been in existence for thousands of years really does not directly influence the system of social and economic relations. Something else is important here—perhaps I interrupted you Vladimir, I'm sorry—but the point is that—and incidentally this is present in the program as well—that it is important that the individual should not become a casualty of this market but should be the subject of it, that he should be as painlessly as possible included in it and socially protected. I, for example, value all positions which concern indispensable protections for free education and free health care. [passage omitted: Semenova speaks about current problems with hospital queues and says that it would be terrible if prices at kindergartens were to rise; she defines the concept of openess and states that she believes that it is a new concept; Semenova then deals with the issues of morality—drunkeness needs to be dealt with; Ilyin interrupts speaking about how the Party had previously interfered in all spheres of life]

[Kalashnikov] If the CPSU was previously at the heart of the whole state structure, as it were, and fulfilled purely state functions, substituting all bodies of state power, then it is now moving directly and distinctly away from this, is renouncing this. It is stating that if the people trusts us to implement our program then we will do this via communist deputies and communist leaders who were elected in some power structures or other within the framework of the laws. Also, we will conduct our policies only in this way. You understand, in the contemporary world it has become quite clear to everyone that it is impossible to destroy something for the foundation and then attempt to build. What is occurring in our country today is more or less if you wish a repetition of the old mistakes. It is also an attempt—let us destroy and then build.

No. This is not the way, because with this destruction we throw away all of the positive elements which must be present in the old. If this some old, historical period existed, then it definitely contained elements which permitted it to exist—there is always something useful in the old. We need to learn how to reform the old, moreover to reform not by using force or imposing some kind of action plan proposed by some political force or other to the people, but to reform by convincing the people. Precisely this kind of reform, democratically accepted by the people, is the method for social progress. It is no coincidence that social progress and democratic reform have been allocated a visible section in the Party's program.

[Semenova] Look, this is not by accident, the only phrase, we have it in the preamble—what a difficult period we are experiencing—and there is one word which chracterizes this period. It is characterized by major changes in social consciousness. Here it is the difficulty you were talking about, because today this social consciousness is not only in a changed state, it is simply in a state of stress. This stress extremely, or at least, very strongly influenced the impulsiveness of the discussion of the program before, after and during the plenum. Look, it turns out that social consciousness is a very subtle matter. When we intrude on the sphere of human values and the postulates by which a person used to live and which are within him, then what you were talking about, Vladimir Valeryanovich, is very difficult and very fragile.

Because what is happening today is that we seem to rescue a person from what destroyed him or her in the past, at the time of totalitarism, at Stalin's time. This is right. I very much want a person to be himself and, at last, to get rid of this feeling of a rigid full-dress uniform and, at last, to free himself and to admit to his own interest. But we also can see something else today, a desire by a person to change and to hammer again, in a similar forcible way, by changing names, anthems, flags, etc. Any intrusion into this very subtle sphere and into this very subtle matter of social consciousness and human feelings that is connected with this very often causes a storm of emotions and a crash of many postulates. It has cast suspicion on the program—what is the point of hiding it—and on the discussion surrounding the program.

Therefore, not only the terms themselves—a party of democratic reforms, a party of political action—were not easily accepted, it was connected with reconsideration of very many things which express a person's outlook and which are dear to every person and with which heor she has grown up. It is not easy to give it up. Sometimes it is very hard to see how easily some of our opponents or the media are dealing with these postulates. This is true. They are obsolete and unneccessary today, but perhaps dear to somebody who has not yet given them up. Tact and understanding of the fact that they are people and people's life are behind this, are missing.

[Kalashnikov] Galina Vladimirovna, it is even more frightening when postulates that are not obsolete are given short shrift, when they represent something of real value in our history, in the history of the Soviet period—there was

a lot of value in it. For example, I am sure that one of the biggest values in our history was the fact that it proved possible to create a multinational uniform Soviet state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, because it was just this basis which allowed the peoples of former Russian Empire to resolve the key problems which were confronting them within the framework of the 20th century.

I for one, as a historian, am wholly convinced that all suggestions to the effect that a Soviet empire existed are lies told by people who are deliberately seeking to dismember our state. They are deliberately seeking to disunite peoples who have been brought together by a single historical destiny, by a real historical process. I say this because we are now entering a very crucial period in the formation of a new federal state, on the eve of the signing of the Union treaty. I think that everybody, both Communists and non-Communists, must now be very attentive and, I would even say, very vigilant in order to ensure that nobody can be allowed to cancel out the results of the union-wide referendum, in which the overwhelming majority of the people voted for the retention of a united, federal state.

[Ilyin] We have spoken here about the lessons of history. I feel that viewers may get the impression that the past we are drawing on was wholesome through and through. I think that we ought to admit that part of it was dead. This is stated quite clearly in the program, I believe. This is what we must get rid of once and for all. That is my understanding of the matter.

[Semenova] Indeed, that is obvious. That has all been said. I spoke about this right at the start. We've been calling a spade a spade. We've spoken about those terrible brutalities, about how they really must not be allowed to happen again. That would be intolerable. Violence, personal humiliation, and things of that sort just cannot be tolerated in our country. That goes without saying. In this connection I would like to point out that, in fact, too little may have been said about the things which we are renouncing. I say this because, facing up to life as it really is, the Party is now renouncing its past far more resolutely than previously. I know this from my own work. Take the following examples—I am not even talking here about the style of work associated with Stalin's and Brezhnev's party structures: the Party is ridding itself of this style—which you can't say, for instance, about certain of our people who boast about having surrendered their Party cards.

What do I have in mind? First, intolerance of other views, of dissidence, and dictatorial, authoritarian management styles. You sometimes observe this in the new corridors of power, where completely new authorities are in charge. Alas, you both feel and see this. Naturally this has come from there, from the Party's past. That is what is alarming. Second, for instance, there is the obtrusive ideological Messianism, the attempt to present one's own position, one's own point of view, as gospel truth. This is a quite separate thing from those old claims that our country was the most democratic and most proletarian one. This is also a vestige of the past, a vestige of the old style of work.

Or take things connected with self-glorification, with the existence of rigid corporate structures, and the practice of issuing orders down the telephone. This sort of thing still happens. There's no getting away from it. Today we see what things are being done out of the public eye. In some places people get rewarded for their personal devotion, for their personal services, by being selected for jobs—sometimes in the new structures of power as well. These are also things which the Party is warning about, because it wishes to eradicate such things in its own ranks. But it is our duty to warn people so that they can recognize these old shortcomings in our life when they crop up again today with new attributes, with new features.

[Kalashnikov] Because we must evidently bear in mind that the mistakes which were committed by the CPSU, a ruling party, were not mistakes which are specific to the CPSU. In many respects they were the result of a low standard of general political culture in the country as a whole. This naturally had an impact on the actions of the ruling party. Any ruling party in Russia would have been.

[Semenova] It was the only one there was. There is nowhere else that new leaders today can come from; and that applies to those who have left the Party. It was the only one there was. anyone who had any inclination, desire, or aspiration to enter public life was in this Party. It was a state structure, as you rightly said at the start.

[Kalashnikov] So we want to conclude that our lessons, the lessons of our history, are relevant for all the political forces on the scene today.

[Semenova] Quite so, they are the lessons of our society.

[Kalashinikov] It would be most galling if our mistakes were repeated by other forces which are giving themselves new labels. As for myself, there are two main lessons I would draw from our history. First, that you cannot build a democratic, humane, and just society by force. Socialism and democracy must be inseparable. Democracy ought to be a value in its own right within the context of a socialist....

[Semenova, interrupting] And that also applies to propaganda violence!

[Kalashnikov] Yes, yes.

[Ilyin] It applies to ideological diktat. That goes without saying.

[Semenova] I was talking about ideological Messianism and intolerance. You must not impose yourself as a supremo and sole arbiter of people's destinies and the only person who knows the truth about everything in the whole wide world. No, of course not.

[Ilyin] There is in fact this key phrase here—we don't promise to perform functions in defense of the working people on their behalf; on the contrary, we are going to cooperate with the workers' movement, the peasants' movement, the youth movement, and so on. I see this is a fundamental difference.

[Kalashnikov] You have pinpointed the most important aspect of the new tactics of communists. What we are saying in the final analysis is that we want to cooperate. We want to cooperate with everyone who shares these objectives. The objectives are formulated in such a way that there are very few people in society who can say that they reject them. The point is that we are the party that above all expresses the interests of the working people, of people of labor. You must not talk in simplistic terms about people who live off a wage. No, these are people whose place in society depends on their own efforts, their labor contribution. We shall be defending the interests of the intelligentsia, the interests of the working class, but defending their interests together with them. We shall listen to what they have to say, creating various coalitions and blocs with them, proposing our own methods for tackling the specific problems which concern them.

[Ilyin] Perhaps one should also say supporting candidates drawn from among the workers and peasants and so on for elections for different authorities.

[Semenova] Yes, quite right, it's a question of the mechanisms...

[Ilyin, interrupting] The most important thing is that a mechanism is needed.

[Kalashnikov] I would like to draw viewers' attention to another point. We say frankly that we are prepared to be a party of opposition, and a party of constructive opposition at that. We are prepared to support everything in the actions of our political rivals that serves the interests of the people, that serves the interests of our fatherland. Under no circumstances shall we go in for any destructive actions. It seems to me that this aspect of the party's activities is underestimated by society today. You will know that in a whole set of structures we have already gone into opposition, but nowhere, despite the accusations leveled at us, do communists act destructively. They are doing nothing at all to deliberately torpedo the progressive reforms that are under way in society. It is another matter that we may have a different vision from our political opponents as to what should be done. Should we jump into the market at one leap and let all prices rip? Should we opt for total privatization and give away everything that was created by generations of Soviet people to whoever? We don't like ideas like that. We are proposing our own ways of carrying out the task.

But locally, rank-and-file communists—and we still have 15 million communists in our ranks, we still have practically the whole of the administrative and intellectual potential. Yes, several million—3 million or so—have left.

[Ilyin] Four.

[Kalsahnikov] Three and one-half or almost 4 million people. But 15 million remain, and just look who they are. In practice communists today hold key posts even in the structures that are headed by the new forces, by former communists.

[Semenova] Yes.

[Kalashnikov] In the Russian Government; and take the municipal authorities in Moscow and Leningrad, and various other structures. This is an important element, and I am not saying this to intensify the elements of confrontation between us and the new forces. On the contrary, I want to say, let's cooperate. After all, we must work jointly in the interests of the people. It is in our own interests too: we have families, wives, and children. It's their life, and we want them to live well.

[Semenova] Yes, confrontation is....

[Ilyin, interrupting] Particularly in market conditions, in the transition, there must be ideal cooperation between all forces, it could be said....

[Kalashnikov, interrupting] We must of course clearly argue about what sort of market we need. I have said that the market can be an instrument of fair distribution and it can be an instrument of effective work, but it is also capable of not being an instrument of fair distribution. If it is a market in which the principle of distribution is based on capital and not labour, this sort of market simply will not fit in with socialism. In order to avoid this sort of distribution we need to ensure that the working people are the masters of the principal means of production. In that case the market model of socialism will be socially just.

[Semenova] It's in the program, in fact.

[Kalashnikov] It's fairly clearly stated in the program.

[Ilyin] The Communist should be master in the party, the Communist, and not the apparatus or party structures. So I believe that the objectives of the party and its working methods coincide with the problems of the democratization of the party and society.

[Semenova] Yes.

[Ilyin] So you see, these processes do not run counter to each another. Today, if the party takes this route, the route proposed in the program, I think it should fit in very well. It is, of course, a difficult road to take. The debate we are today opening on televison, and which is already under way in the press, will evidently also bear fruit. Perhaps you could reply briefly to the following question. What do you personally expect from the party- wide discussion that has now started?

[Kalashnikov] To be frank, I am pleased with the initial reactions. I was afraid the draft would be received more critically than was actually the case. The information and feedback we have is that, although there is a lot of criticism, a substantial proportion of Communists agree that it does in fact provide a basis for discussion. That is an important psychological victory. It means that the discussion will center on the draft. We shall be polishing up the draft. That is the road to consolidating the party. It is the road that will ensure that at the 29th congress we won't split, as our political opponents expect us to do. Quite the reverse, we shall concentrate our forces, we shall become a party that will have overcome a period of disarray and vacillation and lack of confidence in itself, a party capable of performing the tasks the program proclaims. It is

important to realize, after all, that the program is not an aim in itself. It is only a means of ensuring that we remain a strong and intelligent party which can exert a positive influence on the processes of the country's development.

[Ilyin] What about you, Galina Vladimirovna?

[Semenova] I could put it in one word. I expect trust. I want it so much today because things are difficult for society, difficult for people and difficult for the party. I expect trust, and I hope there will be mutual unerstanding. It is exceedingly galling to look at the instant interviews that sometimes flash across the TV screens concerning the proposed, and now legislative, exclusion of party committees. People are asked if they want the party committees to be removed, and the answer is yes, yes. This reminds me of our old, antiquated and venerable habit of uncritical approval.

The impression given is that everyone approves of this. I wonder why. I meet many people on my travels around the country and I ask them: Why? Why are people glad, those who talk this way, those who answer that way. Are the party committees telling kolkhozes, sovkhozes, or private farmers what to sow or not to sow? Are the party committees to blame for soaring prices? Are party committees to blame for the plight of those poor people on the lowest incomes? I am not talking here about old shortcomings which we have already discussed, the sins committed in the highest echelons of power. So, this is what I find annoying. [passage omitted: Semenova expresses confidence that things will get better; the present generation of communists will do everything possible to ensure that all workers develop a sense of their own dignity, despite the difficulties, and a feeling of being supported]

[Ilyin] Here I would add another question, which also occurs to viewers no doubt. Party organizations and various sections of the press, including new and unofficial newspapers, have published a whole series of different versions of the draft. We have decided to submit a single draft—I'm referring to the Central Committee plenum and the program drafting commission. Isn't this another example of pressure, an attempt to make people think the same way? In this connection I would like to go on immediately to ask a question which probably occurs to the people listening to us: How can they themselves take part in the debate? Where will their proposals go? Is there a mechanism for this? Where can they turn to?

[Kalashnikov] The program drafting commission has drawn up a draft, the objective it was set by the congress. Naturally, therefore, it is now submitting it for judgment by the party. But this does not mean that we are against the publication of other drafts. There are very many original drafts. All the main ones, the most interesting ones, the documents which are most profound, will be published in party publications, above all, I think, in the PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN journal. Of course, one way or another party organizations will discuss a whole range of programs. One would hope, of course, that this document would be taken as a basis since the majority of party members will, of course, be concentrating all their polemics on this document.

In the debate so far representatives of various platforms have already been given an opportunity to air their views. One of the leaders of the Marxist platform in the CPSU, Aleksey Alekseyevich....

[Semenova] Prigarin.

[Kalashnikov] Prigarin, yes. He spoke on Central television yesterday, or the day before, I think it was. They held their two-day conference where they discussed the draft program and they are contributing their own suggestions. I, for example, am sure that in the process of discussion a certain rapprochement of positions will take place, especially, say, from the Marxist platform, which has a great deal to offer that is of interest.

[Semenova] It's possible, of course, I also think that the draft will acquire very many valuable additions and possibly corrections, and it's good that there are so many of these drafts. It's not a bad thing, it's precisely, yes....

[Kalashnikov, interrupting] Incidentally, that's why we're doing all this work [words indistinct]

[Ilyin] This is an important element. We laid down the provisions specially so that they could be discussed. They include a number of controversial proposals on which the commission couldn't agree, for example the problem of the relation between communists and religion, whether a communist can be a believer. The program commission was divided. It would be very easy for us to remove that paragraph, or even simply take out a line, from the draft program and there would be no problem.

[Semenova, laughing] Vladimir Valeryanovich, you will quote Lenin, just as you quoted him splendidly then at the program commission.

[Ilyin] But I wouldn't like to tackle the problem simply by appealing to an authority. You know, we get rid of the problem by the fact that during the first Russian revolution Lenin advocated that not only believers but even a clergyman can be a member of the party. But what's important is not the citing of an authority, what matters is....

[Semenova, interrupting] But that's his personal drama.

[Ilyin] Yes, that's his personal drama: the clergyman who, while being a believer and a religious man, at the same time raises the program of the Communist Party.

[Kalashnikov] The Communist Party, after all, is an organization that not only accepts people who are ready-made, ready- made communists. It accepts them as members of the party, but to become a communist he has to go through a political school, and actually the party helps him to go through that school, including the sphere of freedom of conscience, and in the choice of convictions, and the shaping of a scientific world view, and so forth.

[Semenova] But it's not just a question of that. It's simply the truth. We're simply giving up the lies. After all, there have always been people who would secretly baptize a

baby, or take their mother to church because she was already sick. Well, yes, they were expelled from the party if they were caught, but if they weren't? Why be disingenuous? That's simply my opinion.

[Ilyin] Well, we will give everyone a chance to have their say, and we'll decide at the congress how we'll solve the problem. [passage indistinct as all speak together] Yes, where to go. Well we'll be glad to receive all requests and comments. Our address is very simple: Moscow, Old Square, CPSU Program Commission.

[Semenova] During the all-party discussion, working on the creation of one single position, communists will be able to understand a lot of things more clearly. After all, at the plenum and during the program commission's sessions many remarks were made to the effect that some things are not sufficiently clear-cut. It has not been made clear what such notions as socialist choice, socialist future, Bolshevism and neo-Bolshevism mean. All these notations are being manipulated today. [passage omitted: Semenova describes various feelings on these ideas] I now recollect my own speech at a program commission session. I feel like mentioning that my own personal suggestion regarding the draft program has not been fulfilled. Anyway, I will carry on hoping. The gist of it is that so many things have been said about a human being and his interests. The very motto of the program, its slogan—Socialism, Democracy, and Progress—is not very precise in my view. As far as I see, it would have been more precise to put it this way: A Human Being, Democracy, and Socialism. It is logical. Not only because democracy and socialism on their own already mean progress of social development, but simply because a human being is indeed more important.

[Kalashnikov] Out of five remarks you have made this was the only one we have not fulfilled. We simply could not do it....

[Semenova] I know, I know.

[Kalashnikov] ...because the program commission adopted that motto in principle and, of course, we did not take the risk of changing it on our own initiative. [passage omitted: everyone expresses their views about the motto; Semenova says that one should be able to share own's personal views and feelings with others]

[Ilyin] Having the rights of being the presenter, I would like to sum up to some extent what has been said. I think that this may contribute to the all-party discussion. Yet now I would like to thank all the participants and our viewers and to remind them that this was the first program of a new series, that it will be continued, and that you have meetings with scientists and with party officials—with ordinary communists, as it is sometimes said—that is, with all sorts of interesting people. I would like to hope that this program will play its part in the preparation for a really humanitarian, a really humane and a really democratic program of the party. I think that the importance of this draft and of our all-party discussion is precisely in this. Goodbye. [passage omitted]

Military

Student Military Call-up Discussed

LD1608020191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2010 GMT 15 Aug 91

["Topical Interview" with V.N. Ochirov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet on defense and security issues; Lieutenant General I.V. Matveyev, deputy head of a main directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; and Andrey Krymov, member of the students strike committee in Moscow and student at Moscow Aviation Institute; presented by political observer Yuliy Semenov—live or recorded]

[Text] [Semenov] Hello: A lot has been said and written recently about the possibility of students on daytime courses being called up for military service in the future. Currently, as you know, they are exempt from call-up during their studies. But it has been learned that draft laws on the future of our Armed Forces include one which envisages that students will also have to do military service in the Army [words indistinct]. Views on this prospect vary, of course. Many are against it, to be honest. Emotions have begun to rise. Therefore we decided to find out how the preparation of this bill is actually going, what the approaches and options are, and how justified the public reaction—in particular the reaction of students—to all this is. It is well known that student strike committees have even started to form in some places. Calls for various public actions are being heard.

If you do not object, my first question will be to Valeriy Nikolayevich. Valeriy Nikolayevich, first and foremost, at what stage is the drafting of this bill which we are discussing? Has it been submitted to any committee? Has your committee or any other committee studied it?

[Ochirov] I have heard about this bill. But I can officially state that it has not been examined by any committee. If such a bill is submitted, it will, like any other bill, be examined by every committee, including our own committee on the country's defense and security.

[Semenov] Well, let us compare your information with the information of one of those who drafted the law. Go ahead please, Ivan Vasilyevich.

[Matveyev] The draft law on universal liability for call-up and military service is one of a set of bills dealing with defense in general, that are based on the stipulations of the Union treaty. These bills include a law on defense, a law on the status of servicemen, the law on universal military service, and a number of other laws which I will not enumerate here. Both the public and research institutions took part in the drafting of this law. The bill was sent for consideration by the governments of all the republics, and they sent in their conclusions. The draft was published in the press, in particular KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

[Semenov] Ivan Vasilyevich, there is one thing I would like to get straight. So far as I am aware, there are differing preliminary approaches to the solution of this problem. It

is being suggested that some higher education establishments, military faculties for example, should be exempt from the ...

[Matveyev, interrupting] Yes.

[Semenov] Could you briefly list the ones which are affected?

[Matveyev] I will tell you briefly. The bill clearly states that students studying at military faculties will have their service deferred. Furthermore, the Cabinet of Ministers has been given the power to determine a list of higher education establishments, the most important ones, the ones on which our country's scientific potential depends. The Cabinet of Ministers can grant this.

But as we are already talking about talented people, there is also the possibility of granting personal deferment, an option which the Ministry of Culture, for example, currently exercises. If it sees a talented lad who is defending our country's honor abroad, it can grant a deferment although that person has received call-up papers. Such people are granted deferment. In general, there have been a very great deal of proposals. We could start by singling out students who have already undergone military service for courses at the daytime departments of higher education establishments. To make this possible, the call-up would begin at 17. Those who manage to pass their examinations before call-up would be granted the right to enter higher education establishments. Subsequently, they would be discharged two or three months early, in order to undergo preparatory courses so that they can carry out their studies successfully. So there are very, very many variants of this.

[Semenov] I would like to explain to viewers that, because of time constraints, we cannot discuss the essence of this law, its contents. For us it is more important to understand the situation surrounding this law, and to agree on some general reaction, a calm one, to its consideration. Therefore, maybe my next question will be to you, Andrey. May I address you that way, Andrey?

[Krymov] Of course.

[Semenov] Do you think there is already enough reason to set up a strike committee, and to prepare for mass actions?

[Krymov] Yes, in my view there is already enough reason to set up such a committee. I would like to mention right away that our strike committee is not setting itself the specific goal of calling an actual strike. As far as we are concerned, a strike is merely a specific, if extreme, method of getting our views heard and understood in the USSR Supreme Soviet. We deeply believe that deferment must be not just retained for daytime students, but also restored for students on evening courses.

[Semenov] Do you have any positive proposal to make?

[Krymov] We do have a positive proposal. At the present time passions have definitely been raised over this bill. This is understandable and explicable. In my view, there is a single reasonable solution. The draft should not be submitted to the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. A broad, nationwide debate should be started. Once the views of the population have been received, the bill can be reworked and, in some respects, even revised. The bill can then be submitted to, say, the spring session of the Supreme Soviet.

[Semenov] Do you consider it possible to use other ways of expressing your views, other than a strike?

[Krymov] I have already...

[Semenov, interrupting] As you know, there are student organizations, there are [word indistinct].

[Krymov] Yes, of course. I...

[Semenov, interrupting] Deputies too. I know that your rector, Academician Ryzhov, is chairman of a Supreme Soviet committee. He is against this bill.

[Krymov] Yes, of course. Unquestionably.

[Semenov] Let us try to visualize how this bill will pass through the committees and the USSR Supreme Soviet as a whole. What opportunities are there for the public to participate in this process?

[Ochirov] I think that the set of bills on the country's defense and security which have been tabled will definitely be examined and worked on by every committee. The main committee will probably be ours, the Committee on defense and security. That is only natural. It will then release the documents for examination by the Supreme Soviet itself. The set of documents will be tabled. As far as the public is concerned, in the first place many materials have already been published in the press. These will continue to be published. This is a direct channel for broad discussion of these documents. There is nothing top secret about this. The first and second readings of each document, including article-by-article reading, will then be held at the Supreme Soviet and decisions will be made. Those are arrangements which have already been tried out. Experience of this kind exists.

[Matveyev] I would like to add something to what Valeriy Nikolayevich said, about the law's future. We submitted it to the Cabinet of Ministers. As the body responsible for legislative initiative, the Cabinet of Ministers has to submit it to the Supreme Soviet. So, drafting of this law has been completed. But I also wish to point out that the draft decision on the coming into force of this law envisages that students who already have a deferment will be able to continue with their studies. They will not be called up from their desks. Those who have already entered an institute before the coming into force of this law, in September or August, as it is now, will also be granted a deferment until they complete their courses at higher education establishments. So I appeal to all students. Please do not worry. Carry on with your courses. These students will be given the opportunity to complete higher education.

The clauses of the bill say that students who have graduated from a military faculty will not do military service at all. They will receive the rank of reserve officer. Those who have not graduated from a military faculty will do one year's service.

[Semenov] The authors of the law are basing it on the state's needs, aren't they? But is our military leadership thinking of ways to make army service more attractive for draftees in general, and students in particular? Clearly parents and young people themselves will be happier if the army does not take part in interethnic and other internal political conflicts. Is that not so? They will be happier if bullying is rooted out, if conditions are created for the continuation of studies during conscription. Maybe a student could be released two or three times for refresher courses, for consultations, for examinations. Maybe other ways of combining military service with the continuation of education could be found, painless ones so to speak, so that this process is not interrupted.

[Matveyev] This certainly cannot be ruled out, and such a thing could and should be worked on. I have known this to happen myself. When soldiers served under me, they were allowed to do extramural studies as a means of graduating from higher education establishments—the Institute of Culture and others. I would like to make the following appeal to students. Instead of a strike committee, you should be setting up a body to represent working students. Together with the Ministry of Defense and other interested bodies, it would work to find the most appropriate and acceptable way of solving the problem. If this were done, the country's scientific potential would not suffer, and the combat readiness of our armed forces would be raised.

[Semenov] I believe that Andrey and, no doubt, other students watching our program will have been interested in your proposal. I intuitively sense their reaction.

But I would now like to return to the students' views on this problem. Do you consider that your strike committee should be a permanent one? Or has it been formed only for the duration of the debate on this bill?

[Krymov] Our strike committee was formed precisely as a reaction to this bill. But it is very difficult to say whether it will become a permanent one. In the first place, everything depends on the reaction of the student community to this bill. Secondly, it depends on what happens to the bill.

[Semenov] There is already information that permament strike committees are being set up in some places. Are you aware of this?

[Krymov] I do not want to anticipate the future course of events. It is quite possible that it will become a permanent one. But maybe it will only be temporary. Maybe it will turn into something like a students' trade union, or some kind of students' political organization. It is very difficult to say at the moment. So far this committee has been in existence for only two weeks.

[Semenov] You realize why I am asking you this. The experience of other countries shows that it is easy to stir up students politically, but very difficult to steer this in some constructive channel. It is a paradox, in my view, that if students are stirred up in this way, if this movement assumes a large scale, the harm done to the training of specialists could be roughly the same as that which could result from the call-up of students for military service.

[Matveyev] If not greater.

[Semenov] I think the most important thing now is to prevent the draft law which we are discussing today from becoming the detonator for yet another social confrontation. Clearly, with this problem, as with others, we need a normal, calm dialogue, and cooperation between all interested parties. Maybe the roundtable discussion which we have been having today should be the model for similar discussions on a more substantial and serious scale, in more exhalted auditoria. And we will hope that our small-scale roundtable may become a small step towards such constructive cooperation.

[Matveyev] It must.

[Semenov] Indeed it must.

[Krymov] Unquestionably. I also favor dialogue. We will talk about dialogue.

[Semenov, turning to Matveyev] I say thank you to you [turning to Ochirov] and to you.

[Ochirov] Thank you.

[Semenov, turning to camera] And to you. All the best.

[Krymov] All the best.

Air Force Political Chief Interview

LD1808201391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1515 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Interview with Lieutenant General (Aviation) Gennadiy Matveyevich Benov, chief of the Military-Political Directorate of the Air Forces, by commentator Kim Kukholev, place and date not given; from the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Kukholev] Gennadiy Matveyevich, in connection with the defensive doctrine our country has adopted, the Armed Forces are being cut; your arm of the forces has also undergone cuts. What effect has this had on the combat readiness of the Air Forces?

[Benov] In the first place, the personnel are being reduced to the limits of reasonable sufficiency. Of course, the problems with which the Air Forces are being confronted today in connection with the withdrawal of troops from the groups are creating additional difficulties, which also effect the state of combat readiness, combat training, and military discipline among subunits and units of the Air Forces. It must be acknowledged that these problems are today giving rise to a certain degree of caution among the commanding officers. It is simpler and more comfortable when a system has been worked up, when a commander has sufficient forces and means, when the system of commanding the troops has been worked up.

[Kukholev] You have, of course, additional grounds for worry, if only in connection with the fact that, as far as I know, we are in general lagging behind the United States with regard to the number of aircraft.

[Benov] You are probably not quite accurate here. It is not that we are lagging behind but, according to the Paris Treaty, we should have both in Western Europe and in the western part of the Soviet Union 5,150 operational aircraft and helicopters. They have just as many in Western Europe, the numbers agreed are the same. However, the quantitative and qualititative correlations in accordance with this treaty are also being formulated today in connection with the redeployment, with the withdrawal, we are withdrawing troops on to our own territory. We are therefore in a disadvantageous correlation of forces, means and fighting capabilities. As of today the situation in the Western theater is shaping up as approximately 1.3 to 1 to our disadvantage. This causes particular alarm and concern to the command and political personnel of the Air Forces. The endeavors of our combat training aimed at conserving every aviation subunit's and unit's fighting ability at the highest level in these circumstances are undoubtedly of particular significance in this context today.

[Kukholev] The hardware itself, of course, must play an important part in this?

[Benov] It's not just a question of hardware, because all hardware is effective when it is in reliable, intelligent and professionally trained hands, as they say. Admittedly, I believe that to judge by the involvement of our combat aviation equipment at the latest air shows in Le Bourget, Canada, Britain, Malaysia, and the United States, present-day aviation technology such as that of the MiG-29, Su-27, and Tu-160—this is recognized by foreign experts as well as our own—is technology which is as yet unequalled even in the United States.

[Kukholev] You didn't mention that Ruslan.

[Benov] The Ruslan is heavier equipment which, I think, does not need any comment or advertisement today. It has already proved its worth, and the round-the-world flight to the poles demonstrated again that here, in the heavy aircraft series, our aviation design concepts are at the forefront.

[Kukholev] But we're talking of military transport aviation here.

[Benov] This is military transport aviation, auxiliary aviation, as we say. Without auxiliary aviation today combat aviation cannot fully perform its tasks.

[Kukholev] You mentioned the air shows and noted types of aircraft that are popular throughout the world which you sell. There are already market elements here. Could you say something about the way in which you are entering the market, which everyone is entering?

[Benov] I believe that everyone today is entering the market without knowing what it is, and that is what causes everyone the greatest worry today, and that includes airmen. I can tell you frankly that we are no better than other branches of the Armed Forces when it comes to solving our social and welfare problems, of which there are a very great deal in the Air Forces. I have in mind the provision of housing, including for flight personnel. I'll just give you the figures: more than 37,000 officers and noncommissioned officers of the Air Forces today lack housing. They include more than 5,500 flight personnel. In the transition to the market, the financial maintenance which our flight personnel, among others, receive creates particular strains no doubt on the family budget, because as a rule one-third and sometimes one-half of our wives don't work. They have specialized qualifications but lack the opportunity to work in places where our Air Force units are stationed. Then the moves necessitated by the reductions and withdrawals also cause particular strains. In order to alleviate somehow the adverse effects of these social problems, we are forced today to go to the market, and I think that the conversion which we are discussing a lot, but which for the time being—I'm sorry to say—we're doing little about, can also be used to deal with these social and welfare problems.

By this I am thinking of sales of new aircraft systems for which there is a demand in the world; of the use of air force transport aircraft for nonmilitary cargoes, to include those deriving from links with foreign countries, foreign firms. Naturally such revenue provides us with the capability today to use our own resources, income we have earned for ourselves, to deal, at least in part, with those social problems which are so pressing and which—whether we like it or not—have their effect on the psychological atmosphere and morale in military collectives and therefore on individuals' attitudes toward the performance of their duties.

In this connection I would also like to say that restructuring is taking place today in our aircraft servicing enterprises, in the sense that they are also taking on the manufacture of consumer goods. While the amount they produced last year totaled some 18 million rubles [R], this year the plan provides for output worth R60 million. This plan is being successfully fulfilled. In other words, this is also something which is carrying us toward the market, toward an understanding of how to orient ourselves today to the consumer market, in order to make use of it for the development of our own basic resources to deal with those pressing problems facing the Air Forces. [passage omitted]

Order for Construction Worker's Day

PM1308144991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

["USSR Defense Minister's Order No. 372," dated 10 August 1991]

[Text] Comrade military construction workers and servicemen in road-building units, and veterans of military construction!

On 11 August 1991 Soviet people celebrate Construction Worker's Day. This is the vocational holiday of a large detachment of our country's workers. By right construction workers in military uniform also celebrate on this day. They are often pioneers in the construction of defense and industrial installations, they work in difficult climatic and social conditions, and, with their selfless labor, make a substantial contribution to maintaining the USSR Armed

Forces' combat readiness, providing facilities for the troops and naval forces, providing housing for servicemen and their families, and implementing national economic tasks.

In the collectives of military construction workers and road builders there is today a creative search for ways of resolving problems connected with improving production and living conditions, raising the quality of construction, introducing progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration, and strengthening labor and military discipline. Despite the difficulties of the crucial phase of transformations that the country and the USSR Armed Forces are experiencing, servicemen-construction workers are trying to do all they can to fulfill the program and plan for 1991 and create a good foundation for the future.

I greet and congratulate military construction workers and servicemen in road-building units and veterans of military construction on their holiday—Construction Worker's Day—and I wish you good health and happiness!

I express my belief that the personnel of the military construction and road-building units, institutions, organizations, enterprises, and military training establishments will persistently improve their professional skill and aspire to new successes in working for the good of our Soviet Motherland.

[Signed] Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense

Moscow, 10 August 1991

Estonia

Interim Defense Council Convenes; Urges Calm

OW1908110891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0930 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia's Interim Defence Council held a session in Tallinn on Monday. The session was chaired by the head of Estonia's parliament Arnold Ruutel. The Council urged the population, local government bodies as well as state and public structures to display calm and fortitude.

It adopted a statement, pointing out that Estonia's democratically elected government and state structures reaffirm their policy of restoring Estonia's independence by peaceful means.

There are reports that Estonia's Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar who is on a visit in Sweden is returning to Estonia. Estonia's Foreign Minister Lennart Meri is on a visit in Finland. So far, he has no intention of returning home. According to BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent, last January Meri received special instructions to form a government in exile.

Vladimir Vinogradov, secretry of the coordinating council of the Estonian intermovement told BF that his movement supports the USSR leaders' appeal to the Soviet people. "All this is happening in the interests of the working people", V.Vinogradov stressed.

Council Issues Statement

LD1908101691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Statement by the Estonian Extraordinary Defense Council issued in Tallinn on 19 August—read by announcer]

[Text] Today, 19 August, a session of the Republic of Estonia Extraordinary Defense Council, which was set up on 13 January, took place. It was chaired by Supreme Soviet Chairman Arnold Ruutel. The situation that has evolved in the Soviet Union was discussed, particularly with regard to this morning's statement by the USSR leadership, with the address of acting USSR President Gennadiy Yanayev, to world states and leaders of governments and to the UN secretary general, and with other documents. The Republic of Estonia Extraordinary Defense Council appeals to all citizens of the Republic of Estonia and to local government bodies, state, and public organizations for calm and a firm state of mind. The bodies of authority democratically elected in the Republic of Estonia and her government will, even in the situation that has developed, continue on the course toward a peaceful restoration of the Republic of Estonia independence, to which our people gave their unanimous support at the 3 March referendum.

The statement was signed by Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet; Ulo Nugis, speaker of the Supreme Soviet; and Economy Minister Jaak Leimann.

Savisaar Blames 'Party-Technocratic Elite'

LD1908113491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar told a Swedish news agency this morning that the Party-technocratic elite, rather than the Army, is behind what has happpened in the USSR. This was reported by ETA. According to Edgar Savisaar, what has happened is dangerous not only for Estonia and the Baltic peoples but also for the whole world. The people in Moscow who have come to power have no mandate to govern, Edgar Savisaar emphasized. The Estonian prime minister added that the coup did not come as a surprise. The whole week long one could guess that something was under way, but there have been similar signs before, without anything resulting from them. The Estonian prime minister said that he will attempt to go home as quickly as possible but that he will still participate in a 19 August meeting in Stockholm at (?Norrman Market) at which top Swedish politicians have promised to speak.

Transport Plane, Paratroopers at Tallinn Airport

LD1908134691

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian at 1222 GMT on 19 August carries a 2-minute report by correspondent Urmas Loit on the situation at Tallinn Airport.

Loit reports that he spent an hour at Tallinn Airport, having received information about the landing of a military transport plane. He said he saw the plane and "less than 100" paratroopers sitting on the grass at the airport, adding that the plane is an IL- 76 that landed 60-90 minutes earlier. "According to airport officials," Loit says, "at least another two airplanes will be arriving. What is their business? I could not establish within the hour I spent there because both airport officials and civil aviation workers refrain from any kind of statements, and an airport worker even said that he was forbidden to give any information about the planes."

At 1224 GMT, the report ends.

Tallinn Harbor Reportedly Closed

LD1908100791 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0800 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The Georg Ots passenger boat did not leave Helsinki Harbor this morning. The passengers were told that Tallinn Harbor is closed. [passage omitted]

Military Opens Harbor

LD1908121491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1100 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Now, after "Vikerkaja" [news program], circumstances have changed as follows: We received a telephone call from the passenger harbor and were told that, after talks with the military authorities, permission has been obtained to open traffic for passenger

boats. Both the Luik and the Tsuklon sailed toward Helsinki at 1330 and are due to sail back for Tallinn at around 1530 or 1600 and in the evening will sail again for Helsinki. [passage omitted]

As far as freight vessels are concerned, Eduard (?Hunt) considered the 40 boats waiting to enter Tallinn Harbor, as reported in information by ETA, as overinflated information, and he thought that perhaps about three to four boats are waiting to sail out of Tallinn Harbor and about three or four are about to enter.

Soviet 'Military Vessels' Said in Gulf of Finland

LD1908120691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] According to ETA, the Estonian Foreign Ministry press bureau reported that the officer on duty at Tallinn garrison this morning at 0830 told Toivo Ninnas, head of Estonian Shipping, that Tallinn port is closed. The Sinilind and Tsuklon passenger boats arrived in Tallinn from Finland this morning. When the Sinilind spotted Soviet military vessels in the Gulf of Finland, it wanted to turn back, but she was not allowed to do so, and the military vessels escorted the Sinilind into Tallinn Harbor. A total of 40 boats were waiting to dock in Tallinn Harbor at 1100.

Ruutel Makes Statement at Supreme Soviet Session

LD1908153291 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1300 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Address by Arnold Ruutel, chairman of Estonian Supreme Soviet, at Supreme Soviet session in Tallinn—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed people's deputies! According to information received from Moscow, the power there is being seized by the State Committee for the State of Emergency which has sent Armed Forces out onto the streets. It is not clear yet to what degree this body in fact controls the situation in the USSR.

At about 1100 today, Colonel General Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, telephoned me, and told me of the introduction of the extraordinary situation here. He demanded that all armed units be disbanded and that arms be confiscated from the population. Col. Gen. Kuzmin also informed me of the ban established on meetings. [passage omitted]

Even though the State of Emergency Committee refers to the people's will as the basis for its activity, its creation—according to information agencies—has so far been supported only by the USSR Liberal-Democratic Party and the Inter-Movement in Estonia. Views of those organizations have been supported only by a small percent of the population, according to public opinion surveys. And the Estonian trade union federation which unites the workers of all Estonia has expressed its negative attitude clearly. It is a moment where every body, movement, association, and party must clearly and unambigously tell the people what their attitude is. [passage omitted]

Every person in Estonia must know that not one of his steps will go unnoticed under the present situation: Each and every person will at some time have to answer to their children. We are resolutely feeling solidarity with the Russian leadership which at this hour has taken on its shoulders the main load in the battle to halt dictatorship. [passage omitted]

The Baltic states are at present in a special situation. The documents of the State Committee for the State of Emergency contain a clearly discernible course against the state authority bodies which were democratically elected by the people of the Baltics and against the movements, parties, and other associations which express the interests of the people. In such a situation measures are necessary to safeguard their activity whatever way the situation may develop. One has to resort to the bodies with a special mandate, to decentralization of means, and to other measures according to the specifics of each body, to laws and to possibilities. Everything that is happening must be recorded both for history and for the public at large in the whole world. Particular responsibility lies with journalists and with each individual for this. Our protest must be audible and strong. And yet we must not undertake anything of the kind that may endanger the preservation of our people and our freedom aims. To observe the laws of the Republic of Estonia must be our duty. The Supreme Soviet should provide the Republic of Estonia's extraordinary defense council with a special mandate for the issues which call for prompt resolution in the situation that has developed. [passage omitted]

Border Department Chief Not Surprised by Coup

LD1908102391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0800 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Andrus Oovel, director general of the Republic of Estonia Border Department, said to the Baltic News Service this morning that the coup in the USSR did not come as a surprise to his organization, and that they were ready for this. According to Oovel, a plan to respond to this is also ready, but he refused to comment on its content. Oovel also said that the Estonian Government heard about what had happened from the border department.

Muscovite Held for Plotting Murder of Savisaar

LD1508094491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] According to information from the Republic of Estonia Ministry of Internal Affairs, a Muscovite—A.S.—has been detained in Tallinn by emergency officers of the special service at the police department. During a preliminary investigation, A.S. made statements and produced other evidence to the effect that he is staying in the Republic of Estonia to plot the assassination of Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar.

It becomes clear from the explanations provided by A.S. that he is not working alone. Information on any progress made will be available only via official statements of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Estonia.

False Bomb Threat Aboard Moscow-Tallinn Flight

OW1708154991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1325 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At about 7:00 p.m. on Friday there was a telephone call to the Estonian police department. The anonymous caller said that there was a bomb on board flight 2115 bound from Moscow to Tallinn (arrival in Tallinn at 21:30). The plane touched down safely.

Immediately after the landing the plane was taken to a remote section of the airport and the passengers were evacuated. A search did not find the bomb. The caller was not indentified.

Baltfax learned that on board the plane had been First Secretary of Estonia's Independent Communist Party and a member of the CPSU Central Committee Ann-Arno Sillari.

Communist Party Member on Union Treaty

OW1508134591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1315 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Harry Roots, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Independent Communist Party of Estonia, has said the signing of the new Union Treaty may facilitate agreement on the status of Soviet troops in the Baltic region.

H. Roots is conducting a seminar on Baltic problems at the 10th Convention for European Nuclear Disarmament, under way in Moscow. He told BF [BALTFAX] that he found the idea of establishing a demilitarized zone in northern Europe, including in the Baltic region, to be very promising. He quoted Estonian newspapers as saying that the USSR was withdrawing its nuclear weapons from the "unstable" regions to which the three Baltic republics belonged. If these reports were confirmed, he added, he would welcome the withdrawal "irrespective of the motives behind it."

Estonian-Soviet Consultations Open in Moscow

OW1608141091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1030 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Another round of Estonian-Soviet consultations opened at 11:00 on Friday in Estonia's permanent mission in Moscow. The Estonian delegation is led by the Vice-President of the Republic's Supreme Council Ulo Nugis, and the Soviet delegation by the USSR Vice-Premier Nikolai Laverov.

The Estonian side insisted that the parties focus on two major problems: the historico-juridical evaluation of the 1939-40 events and their consequences for Estonia, and economic relations between the two countries. The chief Estonian negotiator repeatedly said he would not agree to open consultations if the first issue were rejected.

As BF [BALTFAX] has already reported, experts from the two delegations met in Moscow on Thursday to discuss the historical and legal aspects of bilateral relations. They signed a communique reflecting the two sides' differences with regard to the development of Estonia-Soviet relations in 1939-91. The head of Estonian experts, Endel Lippmaa, told republican radio that "we are viewing the issue from diametrically opposite positions." At the same time, economic discussion revealed mutual understanding in many areas.

Estonia says it will not sign any economic agreements unless a compromise is achieved with regard to historical and juridical matters.

Joint Communique Issued

LD1608174791 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 16 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Budris]

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—The Soviet and Estonian delegations on Friday held a regular meeting at the Estonian mission in Moscow to discuss "the historic, political and economic aspects of relations between the Soviet Union and Estonia", a joint communique says.

Nikolay Laverov, head of the Soviet delegation, told TASS that the meeting had been preceded by intense work in expert groups to prepare protocols on economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Estonia. He said the documents approved by the delegations "contain important decisions, which will help preserve the country's single economic space".

Proposals made by both sides will be submitted to the Soviet and Estonian Governments. They will "help continue a dialogue on a proper basis," Laverov said.

On Monday, Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov will meet his Estonian counterpart Edgar Savisaar to discuss bilateral economic cooperation.

The communique points some differences in the sides' approaches towards "some legal and political assessments" of Soviet-Estonian relations between 1939-1991, including towards Estonia's incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1940.

The delegations will meet next time in the first decade of October, 1991 in Moscow.

Laverov Says Meeting 'Successful'

OW1608173891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1700 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] USSR Vice Premier Nikolai Laverov, head of the Soviet delegation for talks with Estonia, told BF [BALTFAX] that, in his opinion, a meeting between the Soviet and Estonian delegations in Moscow on August 16 "was successful". Mr. Laverov noted that unlike previous meetings, expert teams prepared all necessary documents for this one, so that the delegations "has a lot to discuss".

"At the previous meeting I had to criticize both Estonian and Soviet expert teams for work. Today's meeting showed that my criticism was not useless: the experts have carried out an enormous amount of work over the last month", he said.

After the previous meeting on June 27 the Estonian experts pointed out that "the attitude of the Soviet Union towards negotiations has worsened". In this connection, Mr. Laverov said that his firm position at the June meeting stemmed from his desire "to make people fulfil their duties".

Mr. Laverov stressed that economic relations between the two sides "should not depend on political issues". The head of the Soviet delegation noted that the experts will continue to work out a common position on political problems (i.e. an assessment of Soviet-Estonian relation in the period from 1939 to 1991 - BF).

Mr. Laverov pointed out the necessity to prepare a mutually acceptable economic agreement and said that in case it is not worked out, "both the Soviet Union and Estonia will suffer losses". He also said that it can be prepared in the near future. "We are looking forward to Monday's meeting between Premiers Pavlov and Savisaar. We hope that they will take into account the recommendations of the experts and the delegations which, in my view, provide the basis for such agreement", Mr. Laverov said.

Parliament Speaker Approves

OW1708204291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1325 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chief of the Estonian delegation at the negotiations with the USSR and Estonian Parliamentary Speaker Ulo Nugis approved of the results of the meeting in Moscow on Friday.

According to Nugis, the meeting was only possible because the Soviet delegation had decided against raising the questions that had been asked in the telegram of the Soviet delegation's chief Nikolay Laverov several days previously.

"Essentially, it was an ultimatum," said Nugis, and it could interrupt the negotiation. According to the speaker, the telegram demanded: that during the negotiations the Estonian press and parliament does not discuss the manner in which the Republic had become part of the USSR; that Estonia does not declare full independence; that Estonia declare all acts "compromising the rights of people of Russian origins" null and void; that Estonia send its parliamentarians again to the USSR Supreme Soviet and that the Estonian parliament consider President Gorbachev's appeal to have the Union Treaty discussed in the parliaments of the "breakaway republics."

Delegation Member Interviewed

LD1608162991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Interview with Estonian delegation member Lippmaa by correspondent Jaan Raudsepp in Moscow on 16 August—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Raudsepp] Another round of talks between the official delegation of the Union and the delegation of the Republic of Estonia is taking place today in Moscow at the permanent mission of the Republic. Mr. Lippmaa: first, how did yesterday's meeting of experts end?

[Lippmaa] Yesterday we had a very serious working meeting with very knowledgeable experts; mainly USSR Foreign Ministry experts, with some from elsewhere, too. We discussed all historical-political problems which we were due to be discussed, we worked eight hours all in all, at times we quarreled a lot and at times we made up again, as happens in diplomacy, and finally we produced quite a diplomatic protocol. I would like to quote our most important results. Our first big debate was over the Tartu peace treaty. Our position was that it is valid even now as the majority of world states do not recognize our incorporation in the USSR de jure. The position of the Soviet side was that Tartu peace ceased to exist on 6 August 1940 when the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, of its own free will, joined the USSR, once the people's will had found its expression through new democratic elections. Well, those two sides of course did not see eye to eye but in the end we (?declared) diplomatically that the Tartu peace treaty was indeed an important political step which substantially improved the relations between the two states. Well, this is true in any case.

The next big issue was the analysis of treaties and agreements. This concerned the protocols and agreements that were concluded between the Soviet Union and Germany from 1939 to 1941. We analyzed them very thoroughly. Our thesis was that we are talking of a purely aggressive reallocation of territories; the thesis of the other—Soviet—side was that we are talking about determining areas of influence and areas of interest. We demonstrated that as the people's congress did not annul and declare void only the 1939 secret protocol but all secret protocols up until 1941, then it is clear what this all meant. [passage omitted]

The last issue was that of easing tension. Here one of the most essential points was for Estonia not to undertake any additional steps toward independence. It was left unclear what those could be; we have already declared everything, both at the end of March and the beginning of May last year, and indeed, it would not be possible to declare ourselves more independent than that.

Another point was to put a stop to ethnic discrimination which is in conflict with the Helsinki process and the Helsinki final act and with the Paris charter. But as the other party could not produce even one set of circumstances or even one form of discrimination which exists in Estonia and is in conflict with the present acts, this point was left out, as they could not produce one act of discrimination or type of discrimination. [passage omitted]

There is a strange opinion that we have been getting stuck or that there is some kind of inefficiency in this matter. Let us not forget that the great powers will now conclude treaties to reduce the number of strategic weapons. This has been prepared for 10 years. And how many sessions

took place! Can we say that the great powers did not know what they were doing and got stuck? Not at all. The problem was complex. And you see, our problem is perhaps even more complex than reducing the number of missiles. Once one reduces the number of missiles by one-third, the rest of them will be sufficient to destroy the world several times over. Here however, one needs to reevaluate history completely.

[Raudsepp] And so, is there some kind of a specific subject or aim for today's meeting?

[Lippmaa] Yes, indeed. We strive for our positions to be accepted in two areas: namely, on historical-political issues and economic issues. The Soviet side strives for acceptance of its positions on both scores. And our positions are completely opposite.

Supreme Council Presidium Meets; Malk Comments

OW1608133791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1030 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Raul Malk, press secretary of the president of Estonia's Supreme Council, has told BF [BALTFAX] that Thursday's session of the Presidium of the Republic's parliament "yielded almost no decisions in spite of the variety of topics for discussion: coordination."

The Presidium discussed the prospects of establishing a Baltic Assembly of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian parliamentarians, the registration of a Royalist Party of Estonia, etc.

The Presidium was originally expected to discuss the granting by the Committee of Estonia of "citizenship certificates" to the citizens of the Republic on the basis of the 1938 Law on Citizenship. However, according to Estonia's Justice and Interior Ministries, the move would be "untimely", since "for the certificates to be recognized as official documents an appropriate legal basis should be formed."

R. Malk expressed surprise at the Committee of Estonia's "sudden" decision to withdraw the issue from the agenda, since people expected to hear the official stand on the granting of citizenship certificates.

Latvia

Rubiks Announces New 'Emergency Committee'

LD1908123691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1012 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Announcement by Alfreds Rubiks, Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, at a news conference with unidentified correspondents in Riga on 19 August; from unscheduled news bulletin—read by announcer]

[Text] Alfreds Rubiks, Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, announced today that Latvia will also fall within the category of the state of emergency. In the words of the first secretary, an emergency committee is currently being formed.

Fyodor Kuzmin, commander in chief of the Baltic military district, is appointed its chairman.

I believe Gorbachev's removal is correct, and I am currently following the course of events with pride. The Soviet Union is now experiencing a return to constitutional order. For six months, a state of emergency has been introduced. This means that for this period, preparations must be made for elections to a new coalition government for the Supreme Soviet. State power will be in the hands of the Soviets. Armed opposition from the Latvian National Independence Movement is possible; therefore, an ultimatum must be issued for handing in weapons. Otherwise, weapons will be confiscated by force. All unlawful armed units must be disbanded. Deputies to the Latvian Supreme Council—Juris Dobelis, Odisejs Kostanda, and Dainis Ivans—will be called to account for neofascist violations of USSR laws. Press publications will be strictly controlled, and those radio and television stations that do not observe the USSR Constitution will be forbidden. In the very near future, the Sodruzhestvo radio station will be merged with Latvian radio. As Alfreds Rubiks said, everything possible will be done to prevent agricultural equipment from entering Riga streets because they are no obstruction to tanks.

More on Emergency Committee

LD1908115791 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1000 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Alfreds Rubiks, CPSU Politburo member and Latvian Communist Party Central Committee [CP CC] chairman, held a news conference an hour ago in the Latvian CP CC session hall in Riga on the situation that has arisen in the Soviet Union. The notable thing about this news conference is that it was planned in advance, although Alfreds Rubiks stated that it was not intended for the current events. Journalists were, of course, mainly interested in Latvia's future. Rubiks explained than in the next few hours, an emergency committee will be formed in our Republic, which for six months will lead all future social, political, and economic life in the Republic. All parties and public organizations will be forbidden, except the Latvian CP. It is possible that in the next few days, a new government of the Republic will be formed, but the radical parliamentary deputies will be dismissed from active work. To the question as to how events will develop in Latvia if civil war in Russia breaks out, Alfreds Rubiks replied that at the moment there is no force that could create a civil war, but those groups that try to resist with weapons will be isolated.

Gorbunovs: Committee 'Illegal Formation'

LD1908105391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 19 Aug 91

["Speech to the nation" by Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs in Riga on 19 August—read by announcer]

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has been dismissed from his position; power has been taken over by an unconstitutionally formed State Committee for the State of Emergency. A state of emergency is being declared. The Presidium and Council of Ministers of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia declare that it regards the Committee for the State of Emergency as an illegal formation and that it has no authority to hold power on the territory of the Republic of Latvia. The introduction of a state of emergency on the territory of the Republic of Latvia in accordance with law is possible only with the agreement of the Supreme Council or its Presidium. The Supreme Council Presidium believes that the situation in Latvia is completely calm, and there is no basis for declaring a state of emergency. The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, the Council of Ministers, and local administrations are monitoring the situation in the Republic and are ready to continue their activity in circumstances of democracy and lawfulness. If any external force hinders them from doing so and tries to hand power to any unlawful formations, the Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers calls on the residents of Latvia to maintain calm and social order, not collaborating with any unlawful power formations, to participate in a nonviolent civic campaign of disobedience, and to demand the restoration of the activity of the lawful Councils of People's Deputies and their executive organs. The only lawful source of power in Latvia is the Latvian nation itself.

Democratic Labor Party Pledges Loyalty

LD1908105891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] The leaders of the Democratic Labor Party of Latvia [independent communists] announced the Party's support for the speech made just now on the radio by Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia. The Democratic Labor Party of Latvia, which worked out its tactics for a state of emergency this January, remains loyal to the democratically formed organs of state power of the Republic of Latvia.

Soviet Military Said To Occupy Latvian Port

LD1908142791 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 1030 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Report by correspondent Ingrid Gustavsson]

[Excerpts] And then to the Baltic countries where the worry of course is great now. Radio and television stations in Lithuania's second biggest town, Kaunas, have been occupied by soldiers and broadcasts have been stopped. The military has taken power in the Latvian harbor town of Liepaja. The parliaments of the three Baltic republics are at crisis meetings now and waiting for more detailed information. This is said by (Autis Yarazonov), who is a foreign policy adviser for the Lithuanian Government.

[Begin (Yarazonov) recording in English fading to Swedish translation] The new government, the military dictatorship in Moscow, has not yet proclaimed which regions will be under such control and again we are waiting further information. [passage omitted] [end recording]

In Latvia the parliament is now meeting at noon. The acting chief of Latvian radio (Janis Ozols) says that the military has taken over control of the harbor town of Liepaja. There the Soviet military has in addition forbidden the publication of local papers and the local radio and television have stopped broadcasting. In Riga the Soviet military has demanded to be allowed to appear on radio and television and will also do that during the day. However, no troop movements have been noticed so far in Riga, according to (Janis Ozols) at the Latvian radio in Riga.

Approaches to Riga Blocked By Military

OW1908152591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1430 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Anatolijs Gorbunovs has issued a statement on behalf of the Latvian Supreme Council and the government. It says: "On August 18 night a coup d'etat took place in the Soviet Union, President Mikhail Gorbachev has been removed from power and the unconstitutionally created State of Emergency Committee has taken over".

The Presidium of the Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers of Latvia "consider the State of Emergency Committee an illegal body without any authorities on the Latvian territory". The Latvian leader notes that the state of emergency can be imposed in Latvia only with consent of the Latvian parliament or its Presidium. In this connection, the Presidium of the Latvian Supreme Council points out that the situation in the Republic remains calm and there are no grounds to declare the state of emergency. The parliament, the government and local self-government bodies are controlling the situation and continue to perform their functions.

"In case some external forces try to give power to illegal formations, the parliament and the government of Latvia urge Latvian citizens to remain calm and orderly, not to cooperate with illegal ruling bodies, to join the non-violent campaign for civil and personal disobedience and to demand the restoration of the legal government", Mr. Gorbunovs points out.

According to the Latvian State Security Department, the approaches to Riga have been blocked by Army units. BFs [BALTFAX] correspondent reports that military helicopters have been flying over Riga for two hours.

Liepaja Officers Form Emergency Commission

LD1908150191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Reports from Liepaja say that (Valeriy Stalev), acting commander of the naval garrison in this town, and (Valentin Olennik), deputy commander of the garrison in charge of military policy, this morning gathered the leaders

of Liepaja enterprises, representatives of various organizations, editors of press publications, and Deputy Mayor (Andris Jaunslenis) at their headquarters. (Yuriy Anton), secretary of the local CPSU organization, and officials of the State Security Committee and of the Military Commissariat were among those present. (Valeriy Stalev) addressed those present as follows: In the town, a military-civilian committee must be formed whose main task will be to prevent disorder, looting, and crime in Liepaja. (Valeriy Stalev) announced that he called this meeting to act on the orders of his supreme commander. (Valeriy Stalev) called for work to continue and for explanations of the USSR leadership's announcement, signed by Yanayev and others, to be made at enterprises. Those present were also addressed by (Valentin Olennik), who drew attention to the fact that (?priority is now given to) USSR laws. The town mayor is said to have had to participate in the work of this committee. The task of the naval garrison is said to be to supervise order in Liepaja and a 20-kilometre zone around it. (?The leaders of both meetings) expressed the wish that it would be good if this week the mass information media ceased operating this week. This meeting may be regarded as the preliminary measure for creating an emergency committee.

Lithuania

Landsbergis on Defending Lithuanian Independence

LD1908085691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0600 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Speech by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, in parliament building studio in Vilnius—live]

[Text] Dear people of Lithuania: Dismal clouds are gathering over our homeland.

A new government has been proclaimed in Moscow, which may not take into account your will—of many nations and the position of world nations, which has been stated often—that the only lawful government of Lithuania is the one you have elected.

Today, however, a military dictatorship may be introduced, not only within the Soviet Union but in Lithuania as well.

We all know that we will not recognize and will not collaborate with any puppet government that may, once again, proclaim itself as being in charge of Lithuania. Such is our civic duty; such is our method—to defend Lithuania and independence.

In the event that martial law is declared, avoid unecessary sacrifices. Civic disobedience, and non-collaboration—these are our principles. These must not become attacks and deliberate confrontations with the military.

If they begin to administer one or another of the areas of existence, full reponsibility will fall upon them.

Currently, there exists a danger to the (?Sitkunai) Station, near Kaunas. Perhaps other institutions of independent Lithuania will also be occupied.

An individual who wishes to demonstrate solidarity and unity with his Lithuanian Government will know what to do. Our greatest weapon is our spirit, whose force has been demonstrated by the defenders of Lithuania, in January, and also in other instances.

Deputies of the Supreme Council of Lithuania are invited to come to the Supreme Council building in Vilnius, as soon as possible.

Members of the Presidium are also gathering at the Supreme Council.

We are together, we are with you, and we shall be here fulfilling our full duty to the end. Moreover, we shall meet through radio broadcasts and on that television which has not yet been seized. We shall meet through announcements and thoughts that will repeat the already known announcements of ours, our positions, and our faith.

Whatever comes to pass, we know that the darkest hour comes before dawn.

Landsbergis Urges Support for 'Lawful' Government

LD1908111691

[Editorial Report] At 0810 GMT on 19 August, an unidentified radio station broadcasting on 1557 kHz is heard carrying an address by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, which an unidentified announcer notes was carried on Lithuanian television. Landsbergis's address is monitored in progress, with very poor reception. Excerpts of Landsbergis's address follow, with only indistinct passages omitted:

"Lives of the people of the Republic of Lithuania and the public order are under threat from the coersion of the Soviet Union. Give support to the lawful Government of Lithuania, legally elected by all which defends lawfulness and stability in Lithuania. Declare before it is too late that the imposition of the occupational Soviet rule in Lithuania will equal the continuation and reinforcement of the Hitler-Stalin pact, that the Western countries will not tolerate a new Stalinism, that the consequences of the aggression will fall on the initiators and the executors of the aggression. Lithuania is waiting for your response and your protection. Do not allow the Budapest and Prague tragedy to be repeated again on the shores of the awakening Baltic Sea. We have not yet heard the reaction of the Western states to the news about the coup in the Soviet Union and, what is more, these states have not yet spoken out concerning the danger to Lithuania and to other Baltic states. However, the danger is clear, and this has already been declared by direct demands. We receive demands from Riga, the (?HQ) of the Baltic Military Region claiming that an order has been received from the leadership in Moscow to disband the department for the defense of the country and not to permit the people to defend their lawful government. Various bans could be declared: to remain in the streets, to assemble in the squares, and so on. I answered to this that all these orders which are declared in the name of one or another authority of the Soviet Union are not in operation in Lithuania and that everything they would carry out by force will only be imposing

a military rule by force and that the military dictators will sooner or later be responsible for their new aggression against Lithuania. I also appealed to the commander of the Baltic military region, to whom I spoke on the phone, and I hope that if the servicemen can hear me at the moment, the servicemen in Lithuania, I want to remind them that soldiers also have both a conscience and a moral obligation which is not only the obligation to follow orders blindly."

"The servicemen should remember how their colleagues were tried at Nurenberg; they also followed the orders of the higher authorities. This coup, if this really is what happened, is a genuine military putch in the Soviet Union, which brings some military Bolshevik junta to power. It will remain there for centuries."

"We all must remain in our place, and we must carry out our duties, both the farmers, office workers, and communication workers."

"Life does not stop; Lithuania will be free."

Prime Minister Issues Statement, Appeal

LD1908123791

[Editorial Report] At 0953 GMT on 19 August, an unidentified radio station broadcasting in Lithuanian on 1557 Khz is heard to carry an announcer-read statement by Gedimanas Vagnorius, prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, in which he notes the need to appeal to all people of Lithuania.

He says: "The sharp political crisis which has overtaken the Soviet Union and attempts to take power in Moscow into their own hands has overwhelmed our country with a dark cloud of concern. The possibility exists that the military forces of a neighboring country will appoint in the Republic's cities and rayons individuals authorized by them. However, the laws of the Lithuanian Republic are in effect in Lithuania."

He also expresses his hope that "the people of Lithuania will be thorough and self-dedicated in carrying out the laws of the Republic of Lithuania and the directives of its government." He further expresses hope that each individual will remain in place doing his work and will maintain his composure and dignity.

He notes that the government will continue its work and exhorts the people to do likewise.

Vagnorius further urges the people "not to give in to any provocations and to refrain from organizing any actions on their own."

Vagnorius notes that all essential services, including health protection and food distribution services, industrial and energy- producing enterprises must continue to function. He expresses hope that the people of Lithuania will live free.

Landsbergis Appeals to International Community

OW1908134791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1300 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landspergis has issued the "Appeal to people of the world, governments of free countries, the U.N. and other international organizations". It points out that "people's life and public order in Lithuania are under serious threat".

The appeal urges the international community to help "the legal, popularly-elected Lithuanian Government which defends lawfulness and stability in the Republic". Mr. Landsbergis describes possible imposition of the state of emergency in Lithuania as a "Hitlerite- Stalinist plot" and expresses hope that "Western countries will not be tolerant".

Sajudis Movement Appeals to Lithuanian Citizens

OW1908135691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1300 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The "Sajudis" movement has urged Lithuanian citizens "to be ready to stand up for our freedom, independence and democracy". It calls for a general political strike in case of an attempt to topple the popularly-elected parliament and government of Lithuania".

Interior Ministry Troops Take Over Telephone

AU1908145691 Paris AFP in English 1441 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP)—Soviet Interior Ministry special forces known as the "black berets" took over the telephone exchange in the Lithuanian capital Vilnius on Monday and cut off international communications, local journalists said.

Members of the crack police unit drove up to the exchange in two armoured vehicles and rushed inside the building.

Telephone links with Moscow were still working, however, although obtaining a line was difficult.

Sajudis Warns of Possible General Strike

LD1908153691

[Editorial Report] At 1300 GMT on 19 August, an unidentified radio station broadcasting in Lithuanian on 1557 kHz is heard to carry the following announcer-read "appeal by the Lithuanian Sajudis to the Lithuanian people":

"At this difficult hour for the homeland, we invite all the people of Lithuania to be prepared to defend our freedom, independence, and democracy. In the event that, following last night's overthrow in Moscow, attempts will also be made to overthrow the lawfully elected parliament and Government of the Republic of Lithuania, we will immediately begin a general political strike. We are also assembling at the central city squares and in Vilnius, near the parliament and Government buildings. All city and rayon councils of the Lithuanian Sajudis and the Sajudis groups should contact without delay the city and rayon councils to maintain constant telephone communications. Dear

people of Lithuania, let us be prepared to spread correct information of their work under conditions of martial law. May God assist us."

Television Station in Kaunas Occupied by Military

TA1908070791 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0618 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Telephone interview with Amunas Bogdanos, foreign affairs adviser to Lithuanian President Vitautas Landsbergis, by Gid'on Remez and Karmit Gay—live, in English]

[Text] [Remez] Mr. Bogdanos, are you with us.

[Bogdanos] Yes.

[Remez] Mr. Bogdanos, good morning. First can you tell us whether the Lithuanian authorities have received any official notice from Moscow or other about what exactly is going on?

[Bogdanos] Good morning. Now the things started developing. We just got a message that our TV station in Kaunas is occupied by the military. We have lost all the TV....

[Remez, interrupting] Let me just stop you for a moment to translate this to our listeners in Hebrew. [translates Bogdanos' remarks, and continues] Does this mean, sir, now that we also know that Interior Minister Pugo is one of the people behind this what you might call putsch in Moscow, do you see this as a possibility that the Interior Ministry forces will now start a campaign of repression in the Baltic states?

[Bogdanos] I can hardly hear you.

[Remez] We will try to speak louder. Do you consider that following this development, that because the minister of interior, who commands these troops, is now behind the new development in Moscow, that this may signal a new wave of repression against the Baltic states?

[Bogdanos] As I told you, the new wave of repression started already because the TV in Kaunas is occupied, so we have lost all the possibilities to appear on the air. And on the 15th the maneuvers in the Baltic military district started so we have many additional armed forces in Lithuania, as well as in Latvia and Estonia.

[Remez] [Remez translates above remarks and continues] Has President Landsbergis received any communication, either from the central Soviet authorities or perhaps from the Russian Republic, because we have not heard yet what Mr. Yeltsin's response to the developments are.

[Bogdanos] No, not yet, but I am sure he will try to get in contact—Mr. Yeltsin of course—and we are trying with the help of our legation in Moscow to learn exactly more details about this new situation.

[Remez] [Remez translates and continues] How do you suppose that this new development, say some kind of reactionary regime in the Soviet Union, may influence....

[Bogdanos, interrupting] Excuse me, I cannot hear you.

[Remez] Let me repeat that. How do you suppose the new development in the Soviet Union, the possible return to a more reactionary regime, may influence the attempt of the Baltic states, and especially Lithuania, to assume full independence.

[Bogdanos] You know, I think it is not a new thing what happens now. If you remember when Mr. Shevardnadze retired and warned the world about the crawling dictatorship—I think it is really a pity what happened tonight.

[Remez] [Remez translates and continues] Mr. Bogdanos, thank you very much.

Republic Radio: Independence Struggle To Continue

LD1908084691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in French 0700 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] This is the radio of independent Lithuania; this is the radio of independent Lithuania. Radio Kaunas is the last radio station transmitting in Lithuania. Please note that we address governments and parliaments of foreign states, the people of good will all over the world. We inform you that since 13 January 1991, the state television and radio stations and tower in Vilnius, capital of Lithuania, have been occupied by the Soviet Army, but the Red Army and its collaborators did not manage to cut off the voice of freedom. It is thanks to the television and radio retransmitting installations in the town of Kaunas that you are able to listen to us. The Red Army wants to occupy our premises, again it wants to choke the hope of freedom of the Lithuanian people. The recollection of 13 January 1991 is still fresh: It was the day when the brutal Soviet military force attempted a military coup in Lithuania, attempted to overthrow the legal government. At any time, our voice—the voice of the last station of the government of Lithuania—might be cut off, the silence in the ether or foreign voices will never mean that we give up our hopes, our wishes, as expressed by the 11 March 1990 act. The people of Lithuania expressed once more their will on 9 February 1991 by plebiscite, when they voted with 90 percent for independence. Lithuania does not renounce its independence; its citizens acknowledge only the legally elected government. We will continue our struggle clandestinely. May God help us and protect us.

Report on Lithuanian Media Behavior

[Editorial Report] Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian broadcasting on Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian frequencies at 0728 GMT on 19 August carries the following announcer-read statement: "The radio station at (Pitkunai) has been occupied by the Soviet Army and the radio transmitter, broadcasting its programs over 450.5 meter wave length will shortly be broken off. The [words indistinct] may be...." Transmission breaks off at 0730 GMT.

Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian is unheard on known frequencies.

Following the break in transmission at 0730 GMT, Kaunas Radio Kaunas continues to be unheard.

An unidentified Lithuanian radio station, with variable reception, becomes monitorable at approximately 0815

GMT on medium wave 1557 kHz. No station identification is monitored. Current broadcasts appear to originate from the Lithuanian Supreme Council studio in Vilnius. A subsequent statement by the station at 1049 GMT states that the parliamentary studio television in Vilnius is relaying CNN broadcasts and translating them into Lithuanian for local viewers and listeners. The reporter encourages people to listen to these relays for information.

At 1012 GMT, an announcement states that a news conference to be held by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis will be broadcast from the Supreme Council studio at an unspecified time.

At approximately 1025 GMT, the "Radio of Independent Lithuania" from the parliamentary radio studio reminds listeners of the decree "adopted by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania on 28 February 1991 concerning the functioning of the state institutions of the Republic of Lithuania and the behavior of the people under the conditions of illegal active occupation by the Soviet Union." Reception is poor.

The above decree states: "The government of the Republic of Lithuania regards all the institutions of power set up by the collaborators to be illegal" and therefore "all their decisions and orders are not valid." The document adds: "In case of illegal active occupation by the Soviet Union, all the citizens of the republic must observe civil disobedience" and "refuse to cooperate politically and socially."

At 1100 GMT, the Lithuanian radio station carries a news conference by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis from the Supreme Council. Reception is very poor to unmonitorable. The news conference ends at 1135 GMT and is followed by a five-minute news bulletin, with very poor to unmonitorable reception.

Landsbergis Warns of 'Hostile Soviet Actions'

LD1708043691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Supreme Soviet Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis has issued a warning that in the coming months, Lithuania may experience hostile Soviet actions again. The period during which the Union Treaty will be signed, from the 20th of this month until the 10 of October, was characterized as political winter, during which time everything will be done so that Lithuania too, would ask to join the new union.

During today's traditional speech over the Republic's radio, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet emphasized that no one within the Government of Lithuania has the authorization to sign any sort of a federal agreement, and the Republic, understandably, does not intend to do that.

Therefore, according to Vytautas Landsbergis, one may expect that this time period will be a time of extraordinary pressure and provocations.

In his latest speech, the Supreme Soviet leader devoted a lot of attention to the preservation of the harvest, and to new planting. Having called to mind the fact that this year Lithuania will most probably have to manage solely on its homegrown grain, he urged [word indistinct] a careful harvesting of a good crop, and to sell the largest proportion of it possible to the home state rather than sending it elsewhere.

Interstate Relations Treaty Signed With Armenia

LD1408145191 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 14 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 14 TASS— Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Vytautas Landsbergis and head of the Armenian Parliament Levon Ter-Petrosyan today signed a treaty "On Interstate Relations Between the Lithuanian Republic and the Armenian Republic".

The chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet arrived here today on a one-day visit.

The document notes that both republics recognise each other "as sovereign states and subjects of international law". The two sides agreed to develop equal and mutually beneficial cooperation in the economy, culture, health care, ecology and other branches.

Specific measures on the development of economic relations are expected to be regulated by separate agreements.

The treaty has been signed for a five year period and will come into force after having been ratified by the parliaments of both republics.

This is the second treaty of the sort concluded by Lithuania at the level of parliament heads.

The first such treaty was signed by Vytautas Landsbergis and Russian President Yeltsin on July 29 in Moscow.

Landsbergis, Ter-Petrosyan Comment

LD1408201391 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 14 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 14 TASS—Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Vytautas Landsbergis and his Armenian counterpart Levon Ter-Petrosyan today gave a news conference here after signing in the morning "The Treaty on Interstate Relations Between the Lithuanian Republic and the Republic of Armenia."

According to Ter-Petrosyan, the treaty between Armenia and Lithuania will "help use all the possibilities to prevent the centre from the use of force by the army against states seeking for independence."

In his turn, Landsbergis described the Lithuanian-Armenian treaty as "a step reflecting their profound understanding," which will "contribute to the improvement of international climate."

Speaking about the signing of the Union treaty, Ter-Petrosyan said that the answer to this question will be given at a plebiscite to be held in the Republic. The plebiscite will be carried out in accordance with Soviet laws, he said.

Landsbergis considers "inexpedient" the creation of a union of six republics, which are not signing the Union treaty.

Radio Vilnius on Treaty

LD1408215891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Today a treaty was signed concerning interstate relations between the Republic of Lithuania and the Republic of Armenia. A delegation of the Republic of Armenia headed by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Supreme Council, arrived in Vilnius to sign the treaty.

Prior to the signing of the treaty, a meeting of the chairmen of the Supreme Councils, Vytautas Landsbergis and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, took place.

The final coordination of the text of the treaty, the preparation of which started last April, was concluded during the negotiations between the delegations from both republics. The Republic of Lithuania was represented by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council; Kuzmickas, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council; Vaisvila, deputy prime minister; Sabutis, secretary of the Supreme Council; Saudargas, foreign minister; Bickauskas, member of the Supreme Council Presidium and permanent representative of the government of the Republic of Lithuania in Moscow; Petrovas, member of the Supreme Council Presidium; Cepaitis, chairman of the Supreme Council commission for matters of citizens' rights and nationalities; and Serksnys, chairman of the Supreme Council commission for the restoration of statehood and constitution.

The Republic of Armenia was represented by Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Supreme Council; Vartanyan, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Saakyan, secretary of the Supreme Council; David Vardanyan, chairman of the commission for issues of external relations; Rafael Papyan, chairman of the standing commission on issues of human rights and nationalities; (Kocheryan), deputy chairman of the Supreme Council commission on relations with foreign countries; (Akopyan), chairman of the refugees' committee; (Navasarbyan), first deputy foreign minister; and (Sarkisyan), first deputy chairman of the state committee for the economy. The treaty was signed by Vytautas Landsbergis and Levon Ter-Petrosyan at 1706 in the palace of the Supreme Council.

Members and delegations from both republics and journalists were present at the signing of the treaty.

The preamble of the treaty reads in part: The Republics of Lithuania and Armenia recognize each other's inalienable right of state independence and legal status of their states as defined by the act on the restoration of the independent state of Lithuania adopted by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania on 11 March 1990, and the declaration on the independence of Armenia adopted by the Armenian Supreme Council on the 23 August 1990.

Both parties confirmed their loyalty to aims and principles of the UN rules, the Helsinki Final Act, and other CSCE documents.

The first article of the treaty says that the high contracting parties recognize each other as subjects of the international law, as sovereign states. The parties undertake an obligation not to engage in activities that could be harmful to the state sovereignty of the other contracting party and to observe the generally recognized norms of the international law in mutual relations.

The treaty says that both parties will develop equal and mutually beneficial cooperation in politics, culture, science and technology, information, humanitarian, and other fields. Specific agreements on cooperation will be concluded.

Agreements set up according to the norms of international law by both the contracting parties will guarantee the rights of citizens living on the territories of the contracting countries as well as matters related to granting citizenship. Economic relations will be regulated by agreements that foresee the status of most favored partner.

The obligations undertaken in the treaty signed by the Republics of Lithuania and Armenia cannot be applied in relations with the third parties and do not restrict the rights of the contracting parties to conclude treaties with third parties.

The treaty will come into force after the letters of ratification of the treaty had been exchanged. This will take place in Yerevan.

Pskov Paratroop Division Returning to Vilnius

OW1508114991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1055 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A member of the Lithuanian Government Commission for Military Personnel Matters, Dalja Tarailene, told a "BALTFAX" correspondent that the Home Defence Department has informed her that a sub-division of the Pskov Paratroop Division is beginning to return to the Vilnius area.

Ms. Tarailene feels the most probable reason for the return of the sub-division to Lithuania is to detain deserters from the Soviet Army. She reported that the Commission for Military Personnel Matters has registered 1,500 deserters since 1989. According to Ms. Tarailene's figures, the spring conscription envisaged 11,630 conscripts from Lithuania: 1,045 actually turned up at military bases.

Withdrawal of Soviet Commandos Demanded

OW1608144291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1320 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Participants in a picketing action and a rally outside the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] base in Vilnius on Wednesday sent President Mikhail Gorbachev

a message demanding the immediate withdrawal of the commando force from Lithuania.

The message says that "it would be naive to think that Soviet punitive structure can act without encouragement from the supreme authorities in the Kremlin."

Protesters also urged Vice-Premier Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, the chief Soviet negotiator at talks with Lithuania, to have all the Lithuanian buildings controlled by the military returned to the republic before September 10 (the opening day of the CSCE conference in Moscow.) Otherwise, "Lithuania may be swept by a wave of non-violent resistance actions aimed at freeing the occupied radio and TV centers," says the message.

Gorbachev Notifies Landsbergis of Union Meeting

OW1608172691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1700 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has notified Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis in a telegram that a meeting of the USSR Council of Federation is scheduled for August 21 at 12:00 in Novo Ogarevo. The telegram says the meeting will focus on agricultural problems, food supplies, financial issues and measures to provide the economy and the population with fuel and electric power in the autumn and winter of 1991-1992. Participants in the meeting will discuss proposals on these issues put forward by the USSR Council of Ministers and leaders of the republics. During the meeting heads of the republics' governments will exchange opinions on future economic agreement between the Union and sovereign republics for 1992, Mikhail Gorbachev points out in the telegram.

Government Statement on OMON 'Terrorist' Acts

PM1608142791 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 1 Aug 91 p 3

[Statement of the Government of the Lithuanian Republic issued in Vilnius; date not given]

[Text] The Government of the Lithuanian Republic is forced to declare that armed subdivisions of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have resumed their terrorist activities on republic territory. Despite repeated appeals to the USSR Government, the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] is not taking any positive steps to stop the illegal activity of the Special-Purpose Militia Detachment (OMON) in the Lithuanian Republic. The response from E. Kalachev, chief of the USSR MVD Main Administration for the Maintenance of Public Order, in which he denies OMON participation in the events of the night of 13-14 June 1991, can be viewed as blatant mockery. So far, nobody has been punished for the unprecedented seizure of the Vilnius Telephone and Telegraph Station carried out by the Vilnius OMON. The stance adopted by the USSR MVD leadership merely encourages criminal activities by OMON armed gangs.

New facts about the attacks on border and customs posts in the Lithuanian and Latvian Republics 28 July this year are proof of this. At 0105, a Lithuanian Republic border post in the Salociai locality in Pasvalys Rayon was subjected for the fourth time to an attack by armed military personnel, who stole documents, property, and money, taunted officials at the post, set fire to the post, and went on the rampage, breaking into a citizen's apartment.

At 1410 that same day, a group of people (20-25 individuals) dressed in camouflage uniform and black berets arrived at the customs post in Salociai from Latvia and ransacked it, taunted the officials, and exploded two grenades at the bus stop. It is worth noting that the assailants did not conceal their affiliation to the Riga OMON.

The Government of the Lithuanian Republic draws attention to the natural coincidence between the execution of such terrorist actions and the scheduled significant meetings of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev. This time the events happened on the eve of his meeting with U.S. President G. Bush.

The Government of the Lithuanian Republic firmly demands that the Government of the USSR undertake immediately all necessary measures to end illegal activities by OMON subdivisions in Lithuania. We hope that the USSR MVD will order either the disbandment of these subdivisions or their withdrawal from Lithuanian Republic territory, and that the perpetrators of terrorist actions against the Lithuanian Republic and its citizens will be exposed and punished.

The Government of the Lithuanian Republic is obliged to warn that continued indifference to OMON crimes encourages these criminal actions and creates the illusion of impunity. The consequences may be difficult to predict, but all responsibility for them will lie with the Government of the USSR.

Z. Vaisvila, deputy prime minister of the Lithuanian Republic

'KGB Out' Demonstrators Beaten Up in Vilnius

LD1708020191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] A KGB Out action has been going on for six days already outside the KGB Headquarters in Vilnius. The Sajudis Information Agency reports that a skirmish broke out between the demonstrators and the Soviet soldiers guarding the building. The KGB guards used batons to beat up several young men who attempted to fix an anti-KGB slogan at one of the entrances to the headquarters.

Utilities Cut at Occupied Radio-TV Building

LD1708222691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] the military staff and Communist Party functionaries who keep house at the occupied Radio and Television Building [in Vilnius] have been left without telephone communications and hot water supplies since yesterday. A

representative of the Ministry of Communications told Radio Vilnius that the occupiers' telephones have been disconnected on the basis of appropriate regulations governing communications use, among other things. Since the legitimate occupants of the Radio and Television Building have relinquished their telephones, because they were unable to use them, the communications staff did not renew the contract with the trespassers.

In spite of this, one telephone number is still connected at the Television Building. The so-called building commandant used it to provide a categorically negative appraisal of such behavior by the communications and municipal services staff. However, he refused to comment on what retaliatory measures the military might resort to.

Cut Said 'Protest'

OW1708202791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1325 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At about midday August 16, Vilnius utilities cut off hot water supply and disconnected telephone lines at the capital TV centre.

Baltfax learned that the action had been taken in protest of the continuing presence at the TV centre of Interior Ministry troops doing guard duty.

Baltic Leaders To Send Bush Letter on MFN

LD1808140291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] A dispatch from Riga says that a message of the Baltic republics' foreign ministers will be presently forwarded to the U.S. President, George Bush. The message will state that the Baltic republics could not accept the most-favored-nation [MFN] status applied to them together with the Soviet Union. The message of the Baltic republics' foreign ministers points out that the proposed wording disregards the historical and legal specificity of the issue. They propose that the U.S. President should restore the application of the most-favored-nation status to the Baltic states on the basis of the (?U.S.) treaties with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia signed in the early '30s.

Moscow Accused of 'Destroying' Energy System

OW1608132591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1030 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania's Vice-Premier Vytautas Pakalniskis has protested to the heads of a number of central ministries, among them of the USSR Energy Ministry, over their July 11 decree under which the electricity produced by the Ignalina nuclear power plant (on Lithuanian territory but controlled by Moscow) will be excluded from the republic's energy balance.

According to V. Pakalniskis, the decree "marks the first step toward destroying Lithuania's energy system" and calls into question Moscow ministries' pledges to promote cooperation with Lithuania in the area of power engineering.

Envoy to Moscow on Talks With USSR

OW1608142891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1320 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania's permanent representative in Moscow, Egidijus Bickauskas, has said that the government delegations or working groups of Lithuania and the USSR will be unlikely to meet before the beginning of September.

At the same time, he told Lithuanian radio that experts should take further efforts to prepare the opening of Soviet-Lithuanian talks.

Mr. Bickauskas criticized the Kremlin for attempts to skirt the crucial problem, that of Lithuanian independence.

Government Denies Change in Non-Violence Policy

LD1408233791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Reports have appeared in the Soviet and Western press saying that after the massacre in Medininkai and other actions by Soviet servicemen, Lithuania is allegedly radically changing its policy and repudiating its traditional stand concerning no use of violence.

The government press bureau has been authorized to state that the Republic of Lithuania has been pursuing and will continue to pursue a peaceful policy in the implementation of the restoration of its statehood.

Yeltsin Reaction to Gorbachev Removal

Calls For Gorbachev Reinstatement

AU1908081791 Paris AFP in English 0814 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP) - The Government of the Russian Republic has called for civil disobedience and the return of the "legally-elected president, Mikhail Gorbachev" to power, a spokesman for Russian President Boris Yeltsin said Monday.

Aide Reports No Change in Position

OW1908062491 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 0533 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Telephone report by Moscow correspondent Tanaka to newscaster in the Tokyo studio in an ad hoc program on Soviet President Gorbachev's fall from power—live via satellite relay]

[Text] I made a phone call to Russian President Yeltsin's office just now. I could not get hold of President Yeltsin directly, but the deputy director of the Russian Republic Information Department [Johobu] answered the call. He said the developments were totally unexpected and added that, at the present moment, there is no change at all in President Yeltsin's position.

Call for 'General Strike' Reported

LD1908100991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] We have something else to report from Moscow: At 1100 [0800 GMT] a news conference by Boris Yeltsin opened. We have learned—via the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE—that Yeltsin has called the people of Russia out for a general strike. And we hope that this piece of news will then spread—via Estonia—also to the people of Russia, as to what is the (?will) of the president of Russia.

Denies Recognition of Committee

OW1908123891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1150 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree which proclaims the State-of-Emergency Committee [SEC] as unconstitutional and qualities its actions as treason.

The decree proclaims all orders issued by the SEC as illegal and null and void in the territory of Russia. The lawful authorities in the territory of Russia continue to function, said Yeltsin.

"The activity of persons who comply with the orders of the SEC will be qualified in accordance with the criminal code of the Russian Federation and subjected to legal proceedings", the decree says.

The decree came into force as soon as it was signed.

Speaks to Demonstrators Outside Parliament

OW1908150591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin of Russia is reported to have walked out of the building of Russian parliament to address a crowd of demonstrators. An IF [INTERFAX] correspondent said Mr. Yeltsin had again condemned the emergency state committee's unconstitutional actions calling for a national defiance campaign.

Military Assumes Control of Leningrad

Commander of District Appears on TV

OW1908105391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0930 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At 10:00 a.m. the commander of the Leningrad military district Colonel-General Victor Samsonov appeared on local radio and television. He said that the he has been appointed the commandant of Leningrad and the surrounding area by the state committee for the state of emergency. He announced that since 4 a.m. [0100 GMT] on August 19 a state of emergency and curfew were introduced in the region. Strikes, rallies, demonstrations and processions are banned. The activities of political parties hindering the normalization of the situation and sabotaging the decisions of the committee will be banned.

Samsonov said that strict control over the media is introduced, some of them might even be closed. Besides, no one will not be allowed to quit jobs of one's own free will. He also said that the staffs of the organizations that will be closed under orders from the commandant will be forcefully employed "at factories, plants and farms".

According to Samsonov, the committee for the state of emergency for the Leningrad region will include the leader of the regional committee of the CPSU Boris Gidaspov, the vice-mayor of Leningrad Vyacheslav Shcherbakov, the chairman of the Leningrad regional council Yuri Yarov and be presided by Samsonov himself.

The Mayor of Leningrad Anatoliy Sobchak is absent from the city.

According to unconfirmed reports, a full-scale meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU is due today on August 19.

Curfew Imposed

AU1908125491 Cologne Deutschland Network in German 1100 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Klaus Kunze report from Leningrad]

[Text] Leningrad state television published regulations on the state of emergency at 1000 today. The people are only permitted to be on the streets from 0400 to 0700. Demonstrations, meetings, and gatherings in the streets are prohibited. Workers can no longer change jobs freely. Political

parties or organizations spreading propaganda against the measures imposed under the state of emergency are prohibited.

Leningrad is being governed by a military commander. This man, Viktor Samsonov, is working together with an arch-conservative Communist party official, Boris Gidaspov. Leningrad's Mayor Sobchok, one of the most consistent representatives of the democratic and reformist movement, is allegedly out of town.

Leningrad is the second largest city in the Soviet Union. There are no comparable, concrete reports from other Soviet cities.

Troops Reportedly Seal City

LD1908112191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Soviet troops have surrounded Leningrad, and all links with the city have ceased. This was announced by the spokesman of the Russian parliament, adding that Soviet parachutists had also occupied the television and radio headquarters in Leningrad, which then broke off their transmissions. According to reports from local journalists, the soldiers took brutal action, and acted according to precisely the same scenario as when the press buildings in Vilnius and Riga were occupied.

Commandant Addresses Citizens

LD1908145491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Excerpt] In Tallinn, everything is quiet so far. In Leningrad, in connection with the introduction of the state of emergency in the country, Viktor Samsonov, commander of the Leningrad Military District, has become the military commandant of Leningrad. He made an address today to the residents of the city in which he spoke about special measures in Leningrad from 0400. They include stepping up the protection of public order and economic targets; temporary confiscation from citizens of guns and other weapons; a ban on holding rallies, meetings, and other mass actions; and a ban on theatrical, sporting, and other undertakings. A special regime (?is being introduced) for sacking leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations. There is a ban on firing workers [words indistinct] by their own desire, apart from cases with valid reasons. Strikes are also banned. There are restrictions and bans on sales of hard liquor and alcoholic substances. A commission has been set up for the state of emergency to control the life and activity of the city. [passage omitted]

Popular Reaction to Coup, Emergency Decree in Moscow

Tanks Reach Center; Rally Reported

LD1908102791 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] A Baltic news service correspondent reported just now from Moscow that tanks have reached the city center. There was a (?political) rally in front of the Moscow city council this morning, and a representative of the city council said that the city council no longer controls the situation in the city. By now, a rally has indeed started at the Manezh Square.

Crowd Gathers Outside Russian Parliament

OW1908144091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] People continue to gather in front of the building of Russia's parliament.

According to a policeman in the cordon, the crowd numbers 15 to 20 hundred [as received] people. However IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent believes that it contains no less than 10,000 people, and continues to grow.

Tanks moved several hundred meters away from the parliament building, but armoured vehicles stand on the bridge facing it.

3 vehicles with riot police (OMON) [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] came up to Entrance 8 which leads to the building's Big Conference Hall. At the same time, according to IF's correspondent, a considerable number of people who had gathered at the opposite side of the building rushed to the entrance in question. They are trying to build a barricade.

Republic Leadership Response to Gorbachev Removal

Appeal to Citizens

OW1908104591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0930 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of Russian Boris Yeltsin, the acting chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov and Prime Minister Ivan Silayev have declared that the legitimate president of the USSR was dismissed on the night of August 19, 1990.

In an appeal to the citizens of Russia this is described as "a right-wing, reactionary, anti-constitutional coup".

They note that there were attempts of an overthrow before.

Yeltsin, Silayev and Khasbulatov said that the use of force in governing the country is unacceptable. "This discredits the USSR in the face of the whole world, undermines our prestige in the international community and returns us to the cold war epoch and the isolation of the Soviet Union from the world community," the appeal says.

The three leaders declared "the so-called committee that came to power" as well as all its decisions illegal.

They expressed assurance that local government bodies will strictly observe the constitutional laws and decrees of the president of the Russian Federation.

They called for giving President Gorbachev a chance to address the nation as well as immediately convening an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

"We call for a general strike without a time limit till these demands are fulfilled", the document says.

Television Programming Cancelled

AU1908110791 Paris AFP in English 1026 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP)—Russian television's programs were cancelled as of Monday and the same program was to be broadcast on all channels, a Soviet television announcer said.

The announcement, which gave no other details, followed Mikhail Gorbachev's removal as Soviet president and the creation of a federal state of emergency committee.

It notably affected the highly popular Leningrad station, which has drawn viewers with its non-conformist programs though none were shown early Monday.

Since last spring, Russian television had started broadcasting special programs several hours a day, including two news programs each evening.

New Leadership 'Illegal'

LD1908122191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] The Russian parliament has judged the take-over in Moscow to be a serious attack against the democratic transformation. The body demands the convening of an extraordinary session of the Congress of People's Deputies, at which Mikhail Gorbachev could make a statement in front of the public. The Russian leaders call on the soldiers not to take part in the reactionary coup. The document declares that the new Soviet leadership is illegal and as a consequence, so are all of its decisions. Until the demands are implemented, it calls on the Russian population for a general strike.

Presidium To Meet 21 Aug

LD1908145591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] It is reported that a session of the presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Soviet Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet was held in the RSFSR House of Soviets on 19 August. The press service of the presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet disclosed that the session was conducted by Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The report says that a decision was adopted on convening a special session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet for 21 August, to be held in the RSFSR House of Soviets in Moscow.

Reaction to Emergency Decree Throughout Republic

Yakutia Leader Wants Emergency Confirmation

OW1908150791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The deputy leader of Yakutia's parliament in Irkutsk Vassiliy Vlasov says his republic won't take any measures to comply with resolutions by the government emergency state committee because of legal uncertainties about its status and functions.

In an interview with INTERFAX News Agency, he said the resolution by Vice - President Gennadiy Yanayev on imposing a state of emergency must be reaffirmed by the central perliament.

Mr. Vlasov said Yakutia's Supreme Soviet was preserving its structures and methods of work in line with the republic's Constitution. He said the decision had been coordinated with the leader of the Yakutian parliament Mikhail Nikolayev who left for Moscow on Sunday for the signing ceremony of a new Union treaty and is now in the Soviet capital.

CPSU Far East Chief Approves Emergency

OW1908135591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of a regional party committee in the Soviet Union's Pacific Territory (part of the Russian Communist Party) Vladimir Zorin says he is being supportive of the assessments by the emergency state committee broadcast on national radio. In an interview with INTERFAX News Agency he said the country was near-collapse, and that unity by all healthy forces was needed to resolve the crying issues rather than rallies or rhetoric.

Mr. Zorin spelt out support for concrete actions to try to resolve the main issues such as the continuance of the Soviet Union as one multinational state and enforcing discipline in the workplace.

He called for "a wholesale war on the shadow economy and organised crime."

Mr. Zorin said the regional party committee was not taking any concrete action yet. In his words," the people want to know more about the documents to be published tomorrow".

Yeltsin Says Ukraine Took Russian Stand

OW1908123291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1150 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has told newsmen that the Russian leadership succeeded neither in broadcasting nor in telecasting its appeal. Areas in Russia are receiving the appeal over telephone.

Yeltsin called upon the leaders of all countries to condemn the coup.

According called upon the leaders of all countries to condemn the coup.[as received]

According to Russia's President, the chairman of the Ukrainian parliament Leonid Kravchuk told him that the

presidium of the Ukrainian parliament took a stand similar to that of the Russian leadership. It decided not to submit to the orders issued by the State-of-Emergency Committee (SEC).

The acting chairman of Russia's parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov told newsmen that the presidium of Russia's parliament held an urgent conference and decided to convene the parliament for an emergency session of Wednesday to discuss the political situation in the Russian Federation.

The representatives of constituent republics and autonomous regions authorized to sign union treaty are now in Moscow, said R. Khasbulatov.

The building of Russia's parliament has been surrounded by tanks, said Russia's prime minister Ivan Silayev.

Answering newsmen's questions Boris Yeltsin said that today he was prevented from entering the Kremlin where he was going to meet with G. Yanayev. Later Yeltsin managed to get in touch with Yanayev who told him that Gorbachev could no longer perform the functions of president.

His attempts to get in touch with Gorbachev ended in failure, said B. Yeltsin. "If Gorbachev is alive and still there (at the presidential villa in the Crimea), he is blocked", said Russia's President. He spoke with Gorbachev for the last time last Friday, said Yeltsin. According to him, "on Friday Gorbachev was safe and sound", and intended to hold an important conference on August 21.

Group for Emergency Set Up in Kamchatka

OW1908111991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 19 a session of the Kamchatka regional executive committee attended by the heads of its key departments, members of the presidium of the regional council, and media representatives formed a group for the state of emergency.

The aim of the group will be to respond to the developments in the region, work out and approve possible decisions. The group is led by the vice-chairman of the regional council Albert Usov.

Leningrad Mayor Calls For 'Full' Departyization

LD1608192891 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 16 Aug 91

[By correspondent John Polishchuk]

[Text] Leningrad August 16 TASS—Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak on Friday called for "full departization" (withdrawal of party structures from state organisations) in Leningrad.

He told a news conference he calls not for liquidating the Soviet Communist Party but for "stripping it in accordance with law of state functions it assumed". Until then, "one cannot expect constitutional bodies of power to function effectively".

Sobchak supported the earliest possible signing of a Union treaty. He said everybody was interested in a political stabilisation in the country in order "not to scare away foreign investments and let people take a free breath".

He criticised the Soviet Defense Ministry, which "keeps several hundred thousands of people in Leningrad but does not care about supplying them with food". This forces "the mayor's office to send 30 per cent of the city's foodstuffs supplies to the army," Sobchak said.

He blamed the mass media for playing up all kinds of sensations and said there were no plans of drastic changes in the city's administrative structure, hinting at "the overflow of experiments".

Sobchak considers the absence of a clear-cut separation of functions between federal, republican and local bodies of power to be the main obstacle in his work.

Tatarstan Committee Revokes Decree

LD1608141291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] We received a report today that the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet approved a draft of its state coat of arms and the republic's flag. Meanwhile, the Committee for the Constitutional Supervision of Tatarstan revoked a decree by the Russian president on departyization of state enterprises as running contrary to the declaration on state sovereignty of the republic of Tatarstan. Instead, a milder draft of the decree on departization was prepared, according to which the right to decide party organization issues at enterprises was given to labor collectives. However, Tatarstan President Shaymiyev refused to sign this decree.

Departyization Under Way in Kamchatka

OW1508224391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The communist party cell of the Kamchatka regional council and regional executive announced its dissolution. Similar decisions had been taken earlier by Communist party organisations in the regional procurator's office and the interior affairs department. 5 out of 34 members have left the Communist party organisation in the procurator's office, and in the militia there is now only one fifth out of the previous number of 600 members left.

Central Committee Resolution on Yeltsin Decree

PM0808131791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party Central Committee 6 August 1991 resolution "On

Urgent Questions of the Work of the RSFSR Communist Party Party Organizations in Connection with the RSFSR President's 20 July 1991 decree 'On Suspending the Activity of the Organizational Structures of Political Parties and Mass Public Movements in the State Organs, Institutions, and Organizations of the RSFSR'"]

[Text] 1. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee believes that the RSFSR president's decree contradicts the USSR and RSFSR Constitutions, the USSR Law "on public associations," the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, and also the RSFSR Law "on enterprises and entrepreneurial activity" of 25 December 1990 signed by B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, article 32 of which proclaims: "The enterprise labor collective, irrespective of its organizational-legal form... determines and regulates the forms and conditions of the activity at enterprises by political parties and religious and other public organizations."

2. The plenum suggests to all organizational structures of the RSFSR Communist Party that they proceed from the premise that the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee has adopted for examination the question of the constitutionality of the RSFSR president's 20 July 1991 decree. Until the conclusion of the Constitutional Oversight Committee and the decision of the top fully empowered organs of the USSR on this question, they must continue their activity in strict compliance with the USSR and RSFSR Constitutions and on the basis of the CPSU Statutes and also in accordance with the RSFSR Law "on enterprises and entrepreneurial activity" of 25 December 1990.

3. In connection with the fact that the idea of departyization has not been approved at the congresses of RSFSR people's deputies, the RSFSR people's deputies should be asked to suggest to the Russian president that he suspend the operation of the decree until a decision has been taken on this question by the next Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies and until a conclusion has been received from the RSFSR Constitutional Court on this decree's compliance with the RSFSR Constitution.

4. The leaders of enterprises and institutions must be asked for this period not to take measures to suspend the activity of the organizational structures of political parties and mass public movements. If administrative pressure is brought to bear and repressive measures are taken, the RSFSR Communist Party organizations in conjunction with representatives of other parties and public movements should protest to and ask for protection from the supreme organs of state power of the USSR and RSFSR and the court and prosecutor's office.

5. The RSFSR Communist Party central Committee urges all party organizations and all Communists to maintain restraint and calm, to continue vigorous activity in the interests of the working people, and to use forms and methods of work in the labor collectives in compliance with the situation which has taken shape and together with other public associations to prevent the disruption of the process of the country's democratization.

Yeltsin Speech at Lithuania Treaty Ceremony

PM1608142091 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 1 Aug 91 pp 1-2

[Speech delivered by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) President Boris Yeltsin at 29 July Moscow signing of Treaty Between the Lithuanian Republic and the RSFSR on the Principles of Interstate Relations, under the general heading: "Document of Historic Significance"]

[Text] Esteemed Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Chairman!

Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen!

Colleagues!

It is with particular emotion that I am participating in the solemn ceremony for the signing of the treaty.

The deep historical tradition of multifaceted relations between Lithuania and Russia is being placed on a firm legal basis. Our peoples were closely bound one with the other for many centuries.

The great Russian printing pioneer Ivan Fedorov worked on Lithuanian territory. And the creativity and political activity of Lithuanian poet Jurgis Baltrusajtis were linked with Russia.

Despite all the complications, our history could not divide the peoples or destroy the ties which bind us.

The treaty being signed today confirms this.

It concludes the serious, painstaking work conducted by Lithuanian and Russian legislators over many months.

The treaty recognizes the sides as sovereign states and entities in international law.

We intend to build relations with the Lithuanian Republic in a civilized way:

—based on the recognition of declarations of sovereignty adopted in our states;

—based on mutual respect for the values and priorities upheld by our peoples;

—based on generally recognized principles and norms of international law.

In the treaty we have outlined not just mutual rights, but above all obligations and responsibility with regard to each other.

I consider this to be very important today.

The treaty has special significance for strengthening guarantees of individual rights and freedoms.

Lithuania and Russia guarantee their citizens, irrespective of nationality and other differences, equal rights and freedoms in line with generally recognized international-legal norms.

The treaty has special articles devoted to the problems of citizenship and securing political, social, economic, and cultural rights and freedoms for citizens.

A lot of time and extensive consultation between the sides was required to finalize these articles, and they are expounded precisely and clearly.

The sides' activities in the sphere of migration policy have also been fixed, and accord was reached on preparing a special agreement on the question of resettling citizens. Plenipotentiary state representations will be opened in Vilnius and Moscow.

Lithuania and Russia have agreed to develop economic links on the basis of the principle of most-favored status. We agreed to set up joint enterprises, develop mutually beneficial contacts, and inform each other about economic decisions which may affect the interests of either side.

Conditions for the economic and national-cultural development of Kaliningrad Oblast will be regulated in a special agreement. I think that economic cooperation and mutual support will help our peoples to effect a transition to the market and create the single economic space which is so vital for this.

The signed document will impart a powerful impetus to the continuation of the bilateral treaty process. Favorable opportunities are being created to give legal form to cooperation in other areas too.

I am convinced that the treaty between Lithuania and Russia will serve as a spur to holding talks with the USSR. I am amazed that despite the decisions adopted they have failed to progress for a year now, and the chances to regulate relations between a sovereign Lithuania and the USSR are being ignored by the central leadership.

In this connection I consider it necessary to express my view on the CPSU Central Committee statement about the 20 July RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Presidential Decree, and the storm raised by party organs over it.

They were quick to declare the decree unconstitutional and antidemocratic, saying that it reinforces confrontation in society.

I categorically deny such accusations.

The decree is aimed primarily at implementing the decisions of the First Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies and at fulfilling in fact and not just formally the decision to alter Article 6 of the RSFSR Constitution.

Despite the decisions adopted and the statement on the desire to operate within the confines of the law and not to concern itself with economic matters, the CPSU continues to remain the ruling party, especially in the localities.

The decree pursues one aim—to create equal and democratic conditions for the activity of various political parties and movements and to remove excessive politicization in society, above all in production units and state institutions.

It is aimed at preventing possible political confrontation between various parties and social movements in the labor collectives.

People must be able to work in the workplace without political obstacles.

So the CPSU Central Committee statement and appeals to disobey the decree provoke confrontation between the center and the republic, between the presidents of the country and of Russia.

The decree which was signed does not limit civil rights and freedoms, but the monopoly of one party—that is, partocracy—in the elaboration of state policy. It is no surprise that the CPSU central organs created such a fuss about it.

I view the CPSU Central Committee statement as a show of cynicism toward its own people. A people who, at the 12 June elections, actively supported the policy of political and economic reform and rejected programs from candidates of a party which had led the people to poverty and the country to disgrace.

The Decree on Suspending the Activity of Organizational Structures of Political Parties and Mass Social Movements in State Organs, Institutions, and Organizations of the RSFSR represents the realization of the people's will regarding the renewal of the republic, and it must be honored.

Esteemed Colleagues!

The treaty signed today between Lithuania and Russia has particular significance for both sides.

We began work on it in an era of drama for Lithuania and Russia alike. Which renders the ceremonial event for signing this treaty even more dear to us.

Relations between our peoples go back into the depths of the centuries. It would seem that everything that could happen between us has already happened. But sometimes it seems to me that the most important and most interesting time in the life of our peoples—a time filled with genuine meaning—has only just begun.

Very few states have as complex a history as ours, and not many would be able to endure and withstand what our homelands have had to survive.

By signing this treaty, we are opening a completely new chapter in our mutual relations.

Today our states are focusing on the future and the treaty we have signed speaks of the fact that we can and will progress together, coordinating our activities for the good of our peoples!

Yeltsin, 'Radical Deputies' Discuss Union Treaty

LD1508124891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Radical deputies have met with Russian President Yeltsin on the subject of Russia signing the Union treaty. In particular, the RIA [RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY] reports, Yeltsin believes the Union treaty

should be signed by all the members of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic state delegation. The view of the majority of deputies was that not only the treaty but all the accompanying documents should be signed.

Tatarstan President Warns He Will Sign Treaty

LD1608202991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1424 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Here is the opinion of Shaymiyev, president of the Republic of Tatarstan. In his opinion, the Union treaty opens a real opportunity to stabilize the country's political and economic situation. In an interview with a TASS correspondent, Shaymiyev emphasized that the administrative and command system which has existed until now does not suit anybody, while the Union treaty meets all the aspirations of the peoples and provides an opportunity to form our multiethnic Union on a new basis.

I stood up for the view of the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet at all stages of the elaboration of the draft treaty, Shaymiyev went on. That view is unchanged: In accordance with its declaration of state sovereignty, the republic expects to sign the treaty independently. A delegation led by Likhachev, the republic's vice president, is currently holding negotiations with a delegation from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. They are due to draw up a wording under which Tatarstan will sign the Union treaty and to elaborate the basic principles of relations between Russia and Tatarstan. If the negotiations are not completed by 20 August, Tataria will participate in the signing of the treaty in the second round, on 10 October. We expect our position to be understood both by the center and by the Russian Federation, President Shaymiyev said.

Leningrad Mayor Says Treaty 'Passes Muster'

OW1608230891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak said at a press briefing at the Leningrad City Council on Friday that the draft Union treaty published in the press "passes muster and can be submitted for ratification by republican authorities." He said that Leningrad would feature in the treaty as part of the Russian Fedeation. The Leningrad mayor will be among the Russian Federation's delegation that will sign the Union treaty.

Sobchak ruled out the possibility of a division in Russia's democratic movement following the signing of the Union treaty as "a united democratic movement in Russia does not currently exist at all." According to Sobchak, "conservative and reactionary forces" can put up a lot of resistance to the implementation of the Union Treaty. He believes, however, that legitimate power structures "can only come into their own after the dismantling of all CPSU structures that, though unofficial, wield real power."

Touching on the prospects of a more active executive power in the country, Sobchak said that both the Union and the republican presidents "must have the right to dissolve their parliaments and announce elections for these legislative bodies."

Shakhray on New State Structure, Union Treaty

LD1708091491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1632 GMT 16 Aug 91

["Topical Interview" program; interview with Sergey Shakhray, state adviser of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic for legal policy, by political correspondent Sergey Lomakin; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lomakin] Sergey Mikhaylovich, some of the latest documents issuing from here have attracted much—indeed,excessive—public attention. But I think there is a more serious phenomenon which has escaped notice, and that is, above all, the creation of a new system of state government of the republic.

[Shakhray] Since the president is a whole institution of state government, and the president is the head of the whole system of executive power, it's natural that the work of the president must be ensured. So the president has set up consultative bodies—I stress that they are consultative, in other words other state bodies are not obliged to carry out there decisions, which are, rather, in the nature of recommendations. This is the Collective Council, the collective brain of the president. Bodies of this kind that have been created are the State Council under the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and the Council for Affairs of the Federation and Territories. As an apparat to serve the entire presidential system—which includes the Council of Ministers—the administration of the president has been set up: the president's administrative apparat. The State Council will draw up recommendations on the strategy of state development, examine key presidential decrees—the need to adopt them—and will predict their consequences of doing so. It will also issue other recommendations to the president.

The Council of Affairs of Federation and Territories is essentially a body in which the heads of executive power from the localities will be represented—from the republics within the RSFSR, from the krays and oblasts, and from the cities of Moscow and Leningrad. This is the body where the president will be able to seek the advice of the heads of executive power from the territories and prepare various decisions which they will then carry out together.

The concept of the Security Council is still be worked on, but evidently this will be a public security body: the body that will have to concern itself with matters of preventing and investigating all the problems that can lead to ecological disasters; problems in the sphere of the security of the individual, and the fight against crime. The president is empowered to suspend acts of any body of executive power in the territory of the Russian Federation and remove from their posts—from the carrying out of their duties—officials who violate the Constitution or the law. [passage

omitted] [Lomakin] Could one say that the Union treaty now being presented for signing is now satisfactory for Russia?

[Shakhray] I would put it like this—and again this is my personal opinion: With all the great volume of work that has been done on it, there nevertheless remain a few articles which require to be defined further. They are phrased in an ambiguous way which permits interpretation unacceptable with regard to the retention of Russian statehood. Let me cite some examples: Article 2, on citizenship: citizenship of republics within the composition of the Union and citizenship of the Union itself are provided for. There is no mention here of the case of republics within the composition of the RSFSR. In other words, Russian citizenship has somehow disappeared here. This is no abstract matter: without Russian citizenship people living in those republics will not be covered by our laws on pensions and allowances, on family protection and children, on land reform, etc. Article 11 of the Union treaty permits the interpretation to the effect that laws of republics within the composition of the RSFSR will take precedence on all questions over the laws of the republics [as heard]. Another example of the same thing. Article 3 of the Union treaty regulates frontiers in such a way as to give rise to the notion of inter-state frontiers within Russia. So we get a state frontier between Karelia and the RSFSR, whereas previously we had a frontier between Karelia and Leningrad Oblast within the composition of the Russian Federation. So there are dangers in this interpretation.

[Lomakin] I am getting the feeling that Russia is finding itself in the same situation in which the Union at one time found itself.

[Shakhray] Well, there is a certain similarity, though I am an optimist and do not think it will go that far.

[Lomakin] God forbid!

[Shakhray] Article 1 provides for relations inside Russia—with its republics—to be regulated by the federation treaty or some other treaty, and the Constitution of the USSR. In other words, there is no mention of the Constitution of the Russian Federation. Then Article 23 states that the treaty comes into force from the moment it is signed by the plenipotentiary delegations; the fact of ratification is, as it were, left out of the picture. So there arises the problem of the operation of the Russian Constitution on the territory of the republics within the composition of the RSFSR. In my view, these articles are cause for a certain amount of caution.

The background against which the Union treaty is to be signed is also very important. This is also something which should not be overlooked. The position of Ukraine, for instance.

[Lomakin] What exactly do you mean by the background?

[Shakhray] Well, let us say, those factors which are unfavorable to the signing of the Union treaty. Ukraine has stated that, at least until parliament has clarified the position in September, it will not sign the Union treaty. Well, pardon me, but what kind of Union could this be without the Ukraine, just as one might ask what kind of union it could be without Russia? Then there is the possibility of the negative consequences of a conflict between the president of Russia and the parliament, bearing in mind that signing of the treaty opens on the 20th of this month, while the parliamentary session opens only on 19 September.

So, in essence, the parliament will not be able to formulate its position until 19 September, though formally speaking the president has submitted it. He sent it to parliament on 9 August, but there was no session physically in progress. So we should not overlook the possibility of conflict here. I can see two ways of avoiding it. First, not to sign the Union treaty till September, when the positions of the Ukraine and of the Russian parliament will become clear—in other words, put it off for a month. Or the second way out is for those who are members of the Union treaty on the part of the Russian Federation, prior to signing the Union treaty, to make an official statement to the effect that the Union treaty is being concluded in order to guarantee the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation and of the republics making it up, and to protect the constitutional structure of the Russian Federation, so as to create a unifed economic area and an effective market, and for a declaration to that effect to be adopted.

[Lomakin] Thank you, Sergey Mikhaylovich, for answering my questions.

Post-Treaty Order Examined

PM1908122591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by Valentin Logunov: "It Seems That the Union Treaty Could Be Signed Behind the Backs of the Peoples and Deputies"]

[Text] The nearer the day scheduled for signing the Union treaty comes, the more both the very contents of the treaty and the form which this event, which is undoubtedly of tremendous importance, will take elicit opposition and censure among the democratic public.

We still have fresh in our memory the assurances by all the parties to the Novo-Ogarevo process that the published draft treaty, thanks to compromises, was undergoing significant changes in favor of the sovereign republics. But this is not borne out by what was published a few days ago. What is more, a perplexed question arises: What, in fact, were the leaders of the Union and the republics doing for days and nights, behind closed doors moreover, in an atmosphere of secrecy and mystery, if, as a result of night vigils, it has only been possible to preserve what we already have?

It is known that the practical work of drawing up the treaty was begun with a warning to the Union leadership from a number of republics that they would manage without the center if the latter tried to continue ignoring their sovereignty. In the past a great deal was said about talks on this among Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan. Today the Russian public is asking this question: Where have the Ukraine and Belorussia gotten to, what is the

meaning of the consultations among the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, and on what principles will Russian statehood be built if certain former autonomous entities of the Russian Federation are already almost hostile to the Russian center?

Unpleasant feelings are also aroused by the fact that the document was kept secret until the last day. Such relations with society were the norm at one time, and to some extent they are characteristic of the Kremlin today, but they are very unexpected on the part of the Russian leadership. This elicits a legitimate protest from the public and from parties and movements. After all, each of us has the right to know the plans of the house in which we are being invited to live.

The presidents' desire to stabilize the situation as quickly as possible, to rely on a legal document which makes it possible finally to build executive power, to decide what belongs to whom, and to begin the revival of the economy is understandable. Order really does arise out of chaos, but it could have the color of field uniform, and so it is more inadmissible to delay over formulating relations between the republics and the center with its punitive institutions. But openness and counsel with society on cardinal questions are all the more necessary under present conditions!

In the case of the Union treaty there is neither one nor the other.

It is possible to assume that by signing the treaty 20 August the president of Russia will doom himself to a tough confrontation not only with Russian parliamentarians but also with the democratic movement. And yet they—and certainly not his close entourage which is taking shape and which is, perhaps, inclined to sign the treaty without delay—are at present his sole political mainstay.

Report on Russian-Kazakh Agreements

OW1708145391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin of Russia and President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, meeting in Alma-Ata on Saturday, exchanged instruments of ratification to a bilateral treaty signed last year in Moscow. Mr. Yeltsin had the following comments on the occasion: "Russia is part of Euraisia, we have deep roots in Asia, and that is why the Asian orientation of Russia's foreign policy is one of our priorities.

The leaders signed also a joint statement on "a common economic area", and the prime-ministers put their signatures to an agreement on the principles of economic cooperation for 1992. Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Nazarbayev suggested that the leaders of all Union republics set a date and a venue for a summit of 15 heads of sovereign states to discuss the whole range of problems relating to the formation of a common economic area. They proposed also to work out a concept of an economic treaty between all the republics and of an inter- republican economic council to be set up immediately once the Union treaty is signed.

Another document signed in Alma-Ata was a joint statement entitled "On Guarantees for the Stability of the Union of Sovereign States". It describes the maintenance of territorial integrity of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan as "a major guarantee against a catastrophic disintegration of the nation and the states which form part of it". Both sides were unanimous in considering the maintenance of Russia as a united federal entity to be a major prerequisite for retaining the Union as a whole.

"The signing of the Union treaty by the republics forming part of the Russian federation may become a spark which may ignite an inter-ethnic conflict", Mr. Boris Yeltsin said in his brief speech after he exchanged the instruments of ratification with Mr. Nazarbayev. "The integrity of Russia is the integrity of the Union", he added.

Later, Mr. Yeltsin said at a press-conference that Tatarstan "will probably not take part in the signing of the Union Treaty on August 20, But the search for a mutually acceptable solution will continue". Mr. Yeltsin quoted the president of Tatarstan, Mr. Mintimer Shaymiyev, as saying that "we will be looking jointly for some formula of the signing of the Treaty until October 10, that is, while it is open for signature".

The two leaders called on President Mikhail Gorbachev to help settle the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. They called, in particular, for direct talks between the leaders of the warring factions with the participation of the Soviet president. They themselves are prepared to act as intermediaries and guarantors for the implementation of decisions which then might be taken. Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Nazarbayev deem it necessary to repeal a decree which suspended the activity of constitutionally eleted authorities in Nagorno-Karabakh. "A special decision should be taken so that the Soviet Army stopped all activities except for a temporary separation of the warring factions in the conflict area. It is inadmissible to use the Soviet Armed Fores for passport control, confiscation of arms or helping one or the other side in seizing control over settlements. The transfer of arms in service with the Soviet Army, especially heavy armaments, to the Interior Ministry troops of both republics should be ategorically prohibited", the leaders of Russia and Kazakhstan said.

Kuptsov Briefs Press on Party Renewal

LD1708045791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1222 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 16 Aug [Tass]—The party and society are in a difficult position, said Valentin Kuptsov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia. As the press center of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has reported, he has met the leaders of a number of media sources. We are looking for a way for society to emerge from the crisis, continued V.Kuptsov, and we are renewing the party as we go, we need to know about our slips; we need the advice of people who are looking at things in a social situation, and we need closer cooperation with the mass media.

In the course of an exchange of views—at times contradictory and leading to clashes—interesting views on the new role of the party in the changing sociopolitical situation were expressed, as well as views on changes in tactics and methods and the party organizations' form of working, and on establishing a lively and active link between the party committees and the lower links of the party, and through them with the labor collectives and the population. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party needs to put its position forward more clearly, standing up for the interests of Russia in particular and its people. It should become the focal point of the patriotic movement for its rebirth. At present, its huge intellectual potential is being badly used. The party needs to devote a lot more attention to the young. The task of renewing the party also presupposes the search for and the nomination of new leaders. The Communist Party should not meekly reconcile itself to accepting what its opponents try to accuse it of in their slogans. This is just part of the reasoning heard during this discussion.

The renewal of the RSFSR Communist Party is a matter of enormous importance: how are its affairs going, and how do things look for the CPSU as a whole as well. The new draft CPSU program will serve as an important stimulus for the renewal and consolidation of the Communist Party. Its discussion will undoubtedly help to activate theoretical thought in searching for new ways of strengthening the influence of Communists on the way to the fundamental reforms which are taking place in our society.

Ukraine

Kravchuk Addresses People on State of Emergency

LD1908144591 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 19 Aug 91

["Address to the Ukrainian people" by Leonid Kravchuk, president of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, in Kiev on 19 August—recorded]

[Text] Respected Ukrainian citizens! As reported by union television and radio, a State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR was formed. The Committee addressed the Soviet people and the governments of the UN member countries with corresponding statements. The responsibilities of the country's president are temporarily performed by Vice President Yanayev. Understandably, it has provoked reaction and concern from our people. The Supreme Soviet receives telephone calls with people's requests to express our opinion on this matter. What can one say here? We know yet far from everything. The Supreme Soviet has not yet received any official documents. Clearly, a certain amount of time is necessary to understand correctly what is happening now in the country. Appraisals and conclusions will necessarily appear and will be made by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviet of the republic. This work is in front of United States, and preparations are now taking place. We realize that in such extremely important political affairs one should not haste with appraisals. It is up to a collective organ elected by people, but clearly, in a state functioning according to the law, it should take place in accordance with the law, including declaring the state of emergency. I want to hope that all the public processes—at least those taking place here, in the Ukraine—will develop exclusively within the frames of the constitution and in accordance with the legislation.

This is why I call you, dear comrades, to calmness and self-possession. The state of emergency has not been declared in the Ukraine. A stable situation, on the whole, remains. On the whole territory of the republic, lawfully elected and formed bodies of state power and administration are working. The Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, the government and local state structures are active. As before, we must follow the road of democracy, lawfullness, law and order, and observance of the constitutional norms. We are confident that all the local authorities will consistently observe the Constitution and the law which were adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, will act on the basis of lawful acts, will carry out resolutions and instructions of the lawfully elected authorities.

I address you, dear compatriots, with one thing: Under these conditions, your wisdom, your good sense, and responsibility in your actions are the most necessary now. I especially address those who are in charge of the destiny of many thousands of people: to leaders of all the state bodies, enterprises, establishments, and organizations and to the leaders of the political parties, public associations, and mass movements. I would ask you to understand the difficulty of the situation and to do everything that depends on you to avoid destabilization of the situation, sharpening of the situation, breaking the work rhythm and public order. Together, we must avoid confrontation and opposition. It is in the interest of the Ukrainian people. The destiny of the people, the destiny of democracy, and the destiny of our sovereignty depend on how we will act today.

Our position is that of balance and balance again. It is that of defending constitutional norms and the law. Whatever runs counter, this position, which is approved by the people, is not acceptable for us. We must defend the law and democracy to strengthen jointly law and order and to defend the interests of people. We must act to avoid spilling the blood of innocent people. We must concentrate on solving the most important problems of everyday life, which are: successfully concluding the harvesting and carrying out the grain procument to the state abatis. The Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on this question was signed, it was approved by the leaders of the oblasts, and has today gone to the provinces.

Second, we must support a normal production process of all work collectives and improve executive discipline in all sectors of work. Today, as never before, cohesion and mutual understanding are needed.

Winter is coming, and we must think about it today because, regardless of the situation, we must provide a regular work rhythm and must do everything for the autumn-winter period to be provided with everything necessary, primarily with resources of fuel and energy.

I want to inform you that now in the republic the pulse of work and political life is beating in accordance with the situation, but it is not worse than it has been, let us say, lately. People understand what has happened and act calmly and reasonably. I am sincerely grateful to them for that.

We are relying on your understanding of such a situation, of such a position of ours, and such an address. I want to express hope that we will be united in our actions, in the name of democracy and civil peace, which is a reliable guarantee of the assertion and the development of sovereignty in the Ukraine. Our unity, in itself, will be the guarantee against any attempts from any side outside the constitution to turn society into a dictatorship or turn structures, both in the center and in the provinces, into structures that are above the law.

Union Treaty Not To Be Signed in 'Near Future'

OW1608153791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The Ukraine will not sign the Union treaty in the near future", the Mayor of Kharkov and a deputy of the Ukrainian parliament, Mr. Yevgeni Kushnarev, told IF [INTERFAX]. He contends the draft treaty does not guarantee a real sovereignty for the Ukraine. In addition, quite a large percentage of the population, especially in the western Ukraine, clearly opposes joining the Union.

According to Mr. Kushnarev, the Ukraine may sign the treaty only when all characteristics of a sovereign state are in place, such as a constitution, its own currency and so on.

"The Ukraine's situation is different from that of the other republics", Mr. Kushnarev said, "No republic, except Russia, can match the Ukraine in raw-materials reserves, industrial and agricultural potential, labour resources. Both Ukrainian and Western experts agree that it is more fit than any other republic for an integration into European economy".

"Given that, Leonid Kravchuk, apparently, will not attempt to sign the Union treaty before presidential elections scheduled for December 1, 1991, since it may undermine his power base in the electorate", Mr. Kushnarev believes.

However, he argued that the Ukraine would sign a treaty setting up an economic union.

"As for the Union treaty, the Ukraine will continue to insist that the Centre's role should be reduced and the importance of fully sovereign states, which will make up the Union, should grow", Mr. Kushnarev stressed.

Details of Chernobyl Accident Reported

OW1608225291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX] has already reported that radioactive water leaked into three halls of the second power block at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. The leakage of radioactivity was contained and did not spread outside the plant. The plant's staff members did not suffer a radioactive irradiation above accepted standards.

The Ukraine's deputy energy and electrification minister, Mr. Vilen Semenyuk, told IF the power plant's director general, Mr. Umantsev, confirmed in a telephone conversation that during maintenance work on the second power block, which had been stopped for an overhaul, a plug went off one of the units. This is no danger for staff members or for the population. A special commission has been set up to investigate into the accident. Once it completes its work, its findings will be made public.

The power plant's officials declined to comment on the accident.

Moldova

People Fear Military Control of Kishinev

AU1908125791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1203 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES English 19/8/1991—ROMPRES special envoys to the capital city of the Republic of Moldova [Kishinev] report that the population is deeply marked by the news of the day, Mikhael Gorbachev's replacement. Fear is expressed that the town might go under military control in the next few hours. Groups of Moldovans gathered near the statue of Stephen the Great talk heatedly about possible developments in the Soviet Union in general and in the Republic of Moldova in particular.

The president of the Republic of Moldova Mircha Snegur who was on holiday is on his way to Chisinau [Kishinev].

Reason for Not Joining Treaty Explained

OW1508131091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of Moldova Mircha Snegur has stated once again that the "latest version of the treaty does not meet the concept put forward by the Republic of Moldova of forming a community of sovereign states". In an interview with Free Europe radio he spoke of the unacceptability of the principle of separation of functions between the central government and the republics.

"The 9+1 formula is indicative, Snegur said, it does not imply a confederation or a union, but a federal state with separated functions." [quotation marks as received] Moldova stands for a loose community of sovereign states each of which should have its own currency and policies.

The president was sorry about the split in the democratic movement in Moldova. He welcomed the formation of the Democratic Forum of Citizens of Moldova adding that the Popular Front that did not join the Forum became the new opposition to the present leadership.

President Says Referendum To Confirm Independence

OW1308202791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Independence must be confirmed by referendum," Moldovan President Mircha Snegur told foreign correspondents.

Mr. Snegur lay special emphasis on the importance of observing human rights. The ethnic minorities, he said, have been offered acceptable conditions for self-assertion in various fields.

Muravskiy: No Intention of Joining Romania

OW1308134391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1140 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent Eugeniy Terekhov, Prime Minister of Moldova Valeriy Muravskiy said that Moldova has no intention of joining Romania. "Some mass media and individuals lately have been spreading rumours that we want to enter fraternal Romania. Such speculation is absolutely groundless," Mr. Muravsky pointed out.

He also said that Moldova favors economic integration with all countries, but believes such integration is possible only on the basis of economic and political sovereignty.

Change to Convertible Currency Payments Resisted

LD1208203991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] According to a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY report from Kishinev, Mircha Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, today expressed certainty that it was important to restore and develop business ties with Russia. He was meeting Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. The Russian premier arrived in Kishinev to sign an agreement on the principles of trade and economic cooperation between Russia and Moldova for 1992. Two opposing views emerged during the talks on one of the most fundamental principles of trade and economic cooperation enshrined in the draft agreement—an article regulating the basic criteria of price setting and reciprocal payments. Whereas Russia is proposing a gradual switch to world prices and payments in freely convertible currency for the most important types of goods, the Moldovan leaders are inclined to make payments in rubles. This article needs to be agreed before the document is signed.

Snegur Discusses Socio-Political Situation

LD1208225591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mircha Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, has met the chairmen of rayon executive committees and mayors of republic's towns in Kishinev.

Despite the fact that the socio-political situation in Moldova has become more stable in the last months, the state of the economy remains critical. To a large extent this has been aggravated by the elements which have inflicted direct material damage of 700 million rubles. Having stated this and other facts, Mircha Snegur paid great attention to the activities of separatist leaders who, in his words, are not particularly bothered about aspirations of those people on whose behalf they talk incessantly. That is why, the President stressed, today's interests of Moldova do not permit one to make absolute values of purely ethnic or party interests. Now the centrist position is needed, the one which will combine the aspirations of the working people, peasants, and intelligentsia. As for the conclusion of a Union treaty, it has been confirmed once again that Moldova's course toward sovereignty and independence remains unchanged. Great attention at the meeting was paid to the reform of local self-government.

Georgia

Tbilisi Radio Carries Relay of Moscow Radio

AU1908074791

[Editorial Report] At 0659 GMT Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian on 7125 kHz finished its scheduled "Facts, Press, Commentaries" program. At 0700 GMT the station linked up without any prior announcement to Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian to carry its news program of official announcements. Tbilisi Radio was unheard on the only other available frequency of 5036 kHz.

Following the end of the newscast at 0731 GMT, Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian on 7125 kHz did not resume its Georgian- language programming, but continued to relay Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network.

At 0800 GMT, when Tbilisi Radio normally carries a Georgian- language newscast, the Moscow relay continued.

At 1015 GMT, when Tbilisi Radio normally carries its next scheduled newscast in Georgian, the Moscow First Program relay continued.

At 1300 GMT, when Tbilisi Radio normally carries its next scheduled newscast in Georgian, the Moscow First Program relay continued.

President Replaces Top Ministers

AU1908084991 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] The following is a decree by the president of the Republic of Georgia on the release of Tengis Sigua from his post as chairman of the Government of the Republic of Georgia:

To release Tengis Ipolitedze Sigua from his post as chairman of the Government of the Republic of Georgia at his own request.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Date] Tbilisi, 17 August 1991

Here are several more decrees issued by the president of the Republic of Georgia:

To release Otar Valerianidze Khvilikaia from his post as deputy chairman of the Government of the Republic of Georgia.

To release Giorgi Mefodidze Khoshtaria from his post as minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Georgia.

To appoint Murman Melitonidze Omanidze, first deputy chairman of the Government of the Republic of Georgia, as minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Georgia.

To release Anzor Gividze Tkhilashvili from his post as prefect of Kobuleti rayon.

To appoint Enzor Isapilidze Tsulukidze as prefect of Kobuleti rayon.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Date] Tbilisi, 17 August 1991.

Economic Crisis Faulted

LD1808124591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 18 Aug 91

[From TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 18 Aug—Tengiz Sigua, the chairman of the Georgian Government, has resigned. Today Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia accepted his resignation and issued a decree releasing him from his duties.

This resignation is attributed to the inability of the executive authorities in Georgia to arrest the worsening economic crisis in the Republic and the fall in the people's standard of living. In one of his recent speeches Zviad Gamsakhurdia sharply criticized the government and said that its membership had to be reorganized.

It is reported from the president's office that Gamsakhurdia also issued a decree today releasing Georgiy Khostaria from his post as Georgian foreign minister.

President's Office on Militia Chief Kidnapping

OW1608152691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian press has printed a statement by the press-service of the republic's president in conjunction with the kidnapping of Mr. Valeriy Gazzayev, the militia chief of the city of Tskhinvali.

The statement says Mr. Valeriy Gazzayev was kidnapped by a large group of armed Ossetians and taken away. A negative attitude toward Mr. Gazzayev in South Ossetia, and the violence against him, the statement explains, was due to his determination to declare an all-out war to terrorists and gangs perpetrating violence against innocent civilians.

Mr. Gazzayev has been considered in South Ossetia as an overly ardent supporter of the current Georgian authorities, even though he is an Ossetian. Local authorities in Tskhinvali protested against his appointment. And just the following day after his arrival in Tskhinvali Mr. Gazzayev was kidnapped and, according to unconfirmed reports, taken to Vladikavkaz, the capital of North Ossetia, to be held there in custody. However, officials of the Interior Ministry of North Ossetia have not confirmed this report in a telephone interview.

There have been fears that Mr. Gazzayev's kidnapping may serve as an excuse for renewed armed clashes. Meanwhile, units of the Soviet Interior Ministry troops, the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment], and the Soviet Army in South Ossetia were reportedly ordered on August 12 or 13 to remain neutral during possible hostilities between the Ossetian self-defense units and the Georgian National Guard.

State of Emergency To Continue in South Ossetia

OW1608114791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A session of the South Ossetian Supreme Soviet which ended on Thursday in Vladikavkaz decided to extend the state of emergency, declared four months ago in Vladikavkaz and Prigorodny district in the wake of armed clashes between Ossetian and Ingushes, for two more months until October 19.

Since the state of emergency was declared 32,000 vehicles have been searched, and 60 pieces of fire-arms, over 4,000 cartridges and 80 explosive devices have been confiscated.

The session of the South Ossetian parliament has also approved at the first reading a bill on the privatisation of housing. A commission has been set up to decide on the lawfulness of a military garrison to be constructed in Vladikavkaz for a division which is being withdrawn from Germany.

The next session to be convened early in September is expected to consider a bill introducing a post of president in South Ossetia, now at a drafting stage.

South Ossetia Official on Georgian 'Hit-Men'

OW1608140791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian hit-men have reportedly been gathering around Tskhinvali, the chairman of the South-Ossetian regional executive and the first secretary of the Communist Party regional committee, Mr. Znaur Gazzayev, said. A tentative date for the commencement of full-scale armed operation has even been set for mid-September.

Mr. Znaur Gazzayev puts this sudden turn after a period of relative calm down to the fact that the right-wingers have been gaining ground in Georgia's leadership.

Armenia

Government 'Carefully Following Developments'

NC1908092191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 0901 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Statement issued by the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers Presidium in Yerevan on 19 August]

[Text] Compatriots, in light of the new situation that has emerged in the Soviet Union, the interests of the republic and the Armenian people demand that political stability be maintained, law and order and normal working conditions be ensured, and the self- restraint characteristic of our people be displayed.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers Presidium are working continuously and together and are carefully following developments.

[Dated] 19 August 1991, Yerevan city

Hostage Talks in Nagorno-Karabakh Fail Again

OW1608224591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Talks concerning the destiny of the USSR Interior Ministry's servicemen who had been taken hostage by the self-defense forces of the village of Aterk, Mardakert District of Nagorno-Karabakh, on August 13 ended in a failure again. The talks will resume at 10:00 on Saturday.

According to the Armenian news agency Norutyun Service, the lack of progress at the hostage talks intensifies fears that the Internal Ministry's troops could attempt to use arms to free the hostages.

On the same day Aterk women sent a telegram to Gorbachev and Yeltsin which said that the hostages could be returned on certain terms. These terms, according to the SNARK [Expansion Unknown] news agency, include: The arrival of a Union or Russian parliamentarian at the village and a check by the Soviet armed forces and procurator's office of the conditions of Armenian hostages in Azeri prisons.

SNARK confirmed earlier reports that on August 15 four of the 41 hostages had been released.

6 Armenian Hostages Released

LD1608231891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a fresh report from the Armenian SNARK agency:

Representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan and the military met today near the Noyemberyan rayon village of (?Agipar). Five Armenian Internal Affairs staffers and one resident of the village of Voskepar who were taken hostage three months ago in the border areas of Armenia were returned to the Armenian side.

Warning on Attempts To Free Detainees

NC1708073391 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Statement issued by the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Armenian Republic in Yerevan on 16 August]

[Text] There has been an increase in recent weeks in the [word indistinct] being sent to residents of Armenia whose relatives are being held as hostages in Azerbaijan, advising them that, for a considerable fee, arrangements can be made for them to travel to other areas, particularly (?Tbilisi), to discuss ways to secure their relatives' release. [Word indistinct] that (?in addition to) being a waste of money, it is believed that Armenians who participate in such meetings will be putting their own lives at risk.

Therefore, the Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry asks citizens to inform the Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry immediately by calling 558546 and 561287 before taking any action in this regard.

Azerbaijan

Army Tanks Take Positions on Baku Streets

LD1908125691 Tehran IRNA in English 1236 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Tehran, Aug. 19, IRNA—Army tanks were stationed in the streets of Baku, capital of the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan, today. The Persian daily KAYHAN quoted passengers arriving in the border town of Astara, Gilan Province, today as saying the tanks came to the Baku streets following the declaration of the state of emergency in the Soviet Union earlier today. However no clashes were reported. Iran-Soviet borders in the Azarbaijan region are open today as usual, and Baku radio continues its routine programs. President of the Azerbaijan Republic Ayaz Mutalibov is currently visiting the Iranian northwestern city of Tabriz.

Situation of Hostages in Nagorno-Karabakh Reported

Aterk Women Cable Gorbachev, Yeltsin

LD1708084591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Women from the village of Aterk have sent Gorbachev and Yeltsin a telegram which says that they agree to return the hostages on condition that the village is visited by deputies from the Union or the Russian Parliaments, officers of the Soviet Army, and a commission of the USSR Procurator's Office, to check on the conditions in which Armenian hostages are being kept in Azerbaijan prisons.

Russian Deputies Arrive

OW1708152691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Anatoliy Shabat, a Russian MP, and Colonel Vladimir Smirnov, People's Deputy of the USSR and a representative of the "Shield" ("Shchit") association, and members of the Russian committee of soldiers' mothers have arrived in Ngorno-Karabakh. They plan to take part in negotiations on the release of hostages.

The self-defense unit of the Armenian village of Aterk, in the Mardakert district of Nagorno Karabakh, has been holding as hostages over 40 serviceman. It seized also an armoured personnel carrier and a military truck. As a precondition for their release, they demand that the Armenians taken hostage earlier be freed.

On Friday, a group of gunmen captured 11 residents of the Armenian village of Nakhichevanik in the Askeran district of Nagorno Karabakh. The hostages were driven by truck towards the Agdam district of Azerbaijan.

Situation Unresolved

LD1708120391 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 17 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert August 17 TASS—Forty Soviet Interior Ministry troops, seized by Armenian militants in Aterk, Nagorno-Karabakh, four days ago, remain in their captors' hands.

Talks on ways to find a peaceful solution to the hostage problem continue in this Armenian-populated autonomous region of Azerbaijan.

The leaders of the Armenian armed group that captured the hostages first demanded the release of Armenians held in custody in Azerbaijan.

Yesterday, they came up with a new proposal, suggesting that all Armenians detained by troops should be transferred to the Russian Republic and investigators of the Russian prosecutor's office be assigned to probe into their criminal cases.

Representatives of the USSR Interior Ministry troops, conducting the talks, do not have the poowers to settle this issue. The Azerbaijani prosecutor's office has not yet given a positive response.

Interior Ministry troops reinforcements continue to arrive in the Aterk region. They are ready to start an operation to rescue the hostages should the demands by the military command for their release be not met.

Aterk women threaten to blow themselves up together with the soldiers held hostage in the village in the event of an attempt to release them by force.

Both Armenian and Azerbaijani parties to the conflict continued to seize hostages in Nagorno-Karabakh in the past two days.

In this situation, no one takes the risk to predict the course of further events.

No Results From Talks

LD1708195891 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 17 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert August 17 TASS—Another round of talks on the release of 40 servicemen of the Soviet Interior Ministry troops, who were taken hostage, were held today in the Armenian village of Aterk of the Mardakert District, Nagorno-Karabakh. As in the previous four rounds, it brought no results.

Major General Valeriy Starikov, deputy chief of staff of the Soviet Interior Ministry troops; Colonel Valentin Zhukov, commander of the state of emergency area; Colonel Vladimir Smironov, USSR people's deputy and co-chairman of the Soldiers for Democracy Movement;

Anatoliy Shabad, Russian people's deputy; Vazgen Sarkisyan, representatives of the Armenian Defence Council, and other officials took part in the talks. Participants in the talks, attended by the TASS correspondent, came to the conclusion that the transfer of six Armenians, kept in Azerbaijani prisons, to the investigation prisons of Russia, which is demanded by heads of the armed unit that caputured 40 hostages, is within the competence of the leadership and the Public Prosecutor's Office of Azerbaijan and not the command of the Interior Ministry troops. The talks are expected to be resumed on Sunday.

A press conference was held after the end of today's round. Major General Starikov said at the press conference that "the military trust the Armenian side which says that officers and men who were taken hostage are kept in normal conditions, and no violence is used against them." This was confirmed by three soldiers released on Saturday. They had been taken hostage by the armed groups.

Meanwhile, Azerbaijanians captured 11 Armenians in Nagorno- Karabakh on August 16. Their fate, as well as the fate of another four Armenians and one Azerbaijanian, is unknown.

Deputy Appeals to Yeltsin, Nazarbayev

LD1808205991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] USSR People's Deputy Vladimir Smirnov and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy Anatoliy Shabat visited today the hostage servicemen where they are being held in the village of Aterk, and in telegrams to Moscow they confirmed that the hostages are being held in regular conditions and are in a normal state of health, that their lives and health are not at risk, and that they dispelled the hostages' fears that attempts will be made to free them by force.

At 1700 on 18 August Shabat sent a telegram from Aterk to Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev, who the day before expressed readiness to assist in settling the Karabakh crisis. The Russian deputy asks Yeltsin and Nazarbayev to do everything possible to prevent the bloodshed of innocent people.

Although I indisputably condemn the very fact of the seizure of hostages, I should also point out that in the case at issue what we are seeing is an unplanned operation, a spontaneous act of desperation provoked by the illegal detention of one of the inhabitants of the village, the telegram says.

Anatoliy Shabat asks the leaders of the major Union republics, Russia and Kazakhstan, to exert influence toward the adoption of a decision to transfer to the territory of Russia and Kazakhstan detained persons of Armenian nationality, languishing without trial and investigation behind bars in Azerbiajan in atrocious conditions, until their fates are decided. The deputy notes that such a decision would be just and would not only lead to the release of the 40 servicemen but would also halt any escalation in seizure of hostage-taking that the presidents have assumed the role of mediators in negotiations and conclusion of future agreements, the deputy calls for everything possible to be done to prevent human bloodshed. Furthermore, he consider it necessary for a decision to be made for all Armenian hostages currently in Azerbaijani jails to be transferred to the territory of Russia and Kazakhstan.

Preparations for Assault Reported

LD1808212391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 18 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Conflicting reports are coming in from Nagorno-Karabakh on the situation regarding the hostage internal affairs servicemen. According to some reports, preparations began today for an assault on the village of Aterk, where the hostages are. Other reports—including from USSR People's deputy Smirnov, who is in Aterk—say that General Starikov, the commander of the troops surrounding the village, sees no need to free the hostages by force, and says he is being forced into this by Polyanichko, second secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Comittee. Smirnov himself contacted Polyanichko by telephone, and found out that that the latter really does want to free the hostages at all costs. Smirnov also met the hostages and elucidated that the only thing they themselves fear is an attempt to free them by force.

Military Action Launched

LD1808202791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] The latest dispatches confirm reports of the start of military actions against the inhabitants of the Armenian village of Aterk; the SNARK agency has reported this. Toward 1600 the village was surrounded by a solid ring of 20 armored personnel carriers and 15 military trucks. A local inhabitant was taken prisoner. Work has started on digging in the Soviet Army's military equipment. At a meeting with USSR and RSFSR deputies, Major General Starikov declared that there could be no question of any negotiations.

And in Shaumyanovskiy rayon of Azerbaijan, today began with artillery shelling of the Armenian village of Verishen. The villagers returned fire. Three of them were injured, one seriously.

According to information received from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Armenia, two children aged 12 and six died as a result of shelling. This is also mentioned in a telegram from RSFSR People's Deputy Kochmatov addressed to Yanayev, Mutalibov, and Rutskoy.

Later, the shelling shifted to the area of the villages of Erkech and Manashit. Artillery shelling of the village of (Karachen) also began. According to preliminary figures, there are also casualties among the attackers.

Three Killed in Attack in Geranboyskiy Rayon

LD1808182191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have been told by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs that intensive firing took place today in Azerbaijan in the vicinity of the villages of Erkech, Todan, Buzluk, and Manashit in Geranboyskiy rayon, formerly Shaumyanovskiy rayon. According to information from the Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs three people have been killed—two of them staff of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs. Eleven staff were injured.

Kazakhstan

President Appeals for Calm, Unity

LD1908161191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 19 Aug 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 19 Aug (TASS)—Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, today addressed all the citizens and representatives of all the nations and ethnic groups populating this republic with an appeal to maintain calm and restraint. "They are especially necessary now since any emotional and inconsiderate action by anyone of us may trigger the gravest social upheavals. Therefore we all must fully rely on the experience of friendship between peoples, accumulated through centuries, which has always been the basis of equality and mutual understanding in the republic," his appeal says.

The Kazakh president called on the labor forces of the republic "to maintain a high degree of awareness and of organization, and not to permit chaos to arise in the national economy." He noted the particular responsibility falling to the rural workers, in whose hands the fate of the harvest and food resources now lies.

Addressing representatives of all the political forces and movements of the republic, the Kazakh president stated that "in the current situation it is very important to give up present disagreements and, taking common sense and a feeling of responsibility toward the people as a basis, not to allow confrontations to occur."

In words addressed to the personnel of the units and subunits of the Armed Forces, the KGB, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs stationed in the territory of Kazakhstan, he expresses the conviction that they "will be true to constitutional norms, respect for the rights of the individual and for the local bodies of power." At the same time he stresses particularly that the state of emergency is not being introduced in the territory of Kazakhstan and that in accordance with the declaration that was adopted on the state sovereignty and constitution of the Kazakh SSR, authority in its entirety lies with the Soviet bodies.

In conclusion, Nursultan Nazarbayev confirmed his devotion to the policy of strengthening the sovereignty of the republic as well as to the principles of democracy and of the unity of the Soviet Union, and he spoke of his resolve to put into practice the reforms which have begun. He also expressed his profound confidence that the people of Kazakhstan would demonstrate a high degree of awareness, vigilance, and unity.

Yeltsin, Delegation Arrive for Treaty Signing

Arrival in Alma-Ata; Statement Made

OW1608201091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On the evening of August 16, Russia's President Boris Yeltsin arrived in Kazakhstan's capital Alma-Ata on an official visit. "We are facing a four-fold task," he said to the press. "One, the exchange of the instruments of treaty ratification between the two republics. Secondly, we and prime-ministers in both republics will discuss and sign an agreement on the principles of economic cooperation for 1991 as earlier we had signed an agreement for 1991 only. This is of major importance [sentence as received]," said Boris Yeltsin later on, "and now's the time so that we can prepare for the year 1992. I believe 1992 will be a make-or-break year in terms of economic stabilization."

Yeltsin also said that the foreign ministers of the two countries would sign a cooperation protocol between their ministries. "And the chief objective of my visit here is to continue cooperation between republics and private contacts with Kazakhstan's president. This meeting will add warmth to our peronal relations and to those between our peoples."

Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's Interrepublican Relations Committee Fedor Shilov-Kovedayev told journalists unofficially that "the 15+0 summit of republican leaders" that had been planned at the initiative of Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev was facing "a grave problem: reluctance on the part of some of the republican leaders to take part in such forums."

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Meet Journalists

LD1708013191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] As we have already reported, Boris Yeltsin arrived in Alma-Ata. Details from my colleague Oleg Klimov.

[Klimov] The aircraft carrying Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President Boris Yeltsin landed at Alma-Ata Airport at approximately 2100. The Russian delegation also included Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, the republic's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, and Fedor Shilov-Kovedyayev, chairman of the committee of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. At the airport they were met by Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, and other officials. Before leaving for a residence provided for the delegation there was a brief meeting with journalists.

Here is what Boris Yeltsin said about the aims of his visit:

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] What tasks are set for this visit... in accordance with the invitation by esteemed Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, president of the Republic of Kazakhstan: The first, in accordance with our agreement, the treaty that was signed between the two sovereign states, Kazakhstan and Russia, last year in Moscow—the exchange of the ratification documents and the relevant signing of protocols should be carried out in Alma-Ata, capital of Kazakhstan. The second, the prime ministers will discuss, together with us, and, I think, will sign an agreement on principles of our economic cooperation for 1992 as an economic agreement between us was signed only for 1991. This is very important especially today so we can get ready for 1992, I think, the decisive year from the point of view of stabilizing the economy. The third, the ministers of foreign affairs of the two states will

also sign a protocol on cooperation between the ministries. And the fourth, perhaps it should have been put in the first place, this is the continuation of our contacts and cooperation between the republics as well as personal contacts with the president of Kazakhstan, we constantly keep in touch on a personal level, this is known by the media and especially here in Alma-Ata, in Kazakhstan—to add warmth to our relations... not only between the two of us but between our peoples who were always fiendly. I am very happy to have this meeting on Kazakh territory. [end recording]

[Klimov] After that Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, also said a few words.

[Begin recording] [Nazarbayev] Contacts between the Kazakhs and the Russians, between Russia and Kazakhstan, have a long history—they started at the beginning of the 15th century—and since then these two peoples have been living together. Now when we are renewing our society, renewing the federation, our task is to preserve these relations of friendship and brotherhood between the two peoples. This is a token of preserving our state in future as a whole, and this friendship and these relations are a token of the fact that we will be able to reorganize our economy effectively for the benefit of the two soverign states. I hope that Boris Nikolayevich and myself will underline this friendship and that relations between the two peoples are strengthened, especially as the treaty that Boris Nikolayevich and myself signed in Moscow last year speaks about this precisely. [end recording]

[Klimov] Talks between the two presidents and between the prime ministers, an exchange of ratification documents, and probably the signing of an economic agreement between Kazakhstan and Russian will take place tomorrow morning.

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Comment on Talks

LD1708181991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program
and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As reported earlier, documents were signed in Alma-Ata today on ratification of the treaty between Russia and Kazakhstan. Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President Boris Yeltsin and the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev put their signatures on these important documents. An economic inter-governmental agreement for 1992 was signed by the Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, Ivan Silayev, and the prime minister of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, Uzakbay Karamanov.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Of course, it's difficult to overestimate the significance of such cooperation, not only because it is between two of our country's biggest economic regions, but also because it represents the strengthening of mutual relations between two large Euro-Asian republics, each of which has more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups living on its territory. It is the sincere desire of both sides to achieve political stability in our country that has dictated the appeal, adopted at the meeting, to USSR President Gorbachev on the problems of interethnic conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Russia and Kazakhstan, Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, are ready to become intermediaries and guarantors of the stabilization of the political situation in the region. The presidents are concerned over the reduction of the Union's market space and the disruption of market relations established over decades and linked by a thousand threads.

Will the decisions made at this meeting be able to change in any way the proportion of nine plus one—well, if not fifteen plus one, then at least ten plus one or eleven plus one? What do you think?

[Yeltsin] Well, I consider that at present it is only Armenia that may, realistically, join the nine in the Union treaty. The other five, that's no longer realistic, and no meetings of ours will make any difference. That all 15 republics should sign an economic agreement, that's a different matter, and our meeting today will of course have a very great and serious influence on that decision.

[Nazarbayev] Having proclaimed a year ago the sovereignties of our republics, we in practice haven't got them, because all the ministries of the industries are sitting in Moscow, and there is no place for them in the Union treaty. We had talks in great depth yesterday until late and from early this morning and as you've seen, we have managed to sign very serious declarations, an appeal to President Gorbachev on the interethnic conflict. We consider that this accords with the aspirations of the inhabitants not only of our two republics, but of the whole country. [end recording]

Yeltsin Gives Treaty Signing Speech

LD1708220791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1850 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Speech by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin at ceremony marking signing of Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan in Alma-Ata on 17 August—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed President, esteemed leaders of Kazakhstan, friends! We are now at a significant event. We have jointly prepared and signed several of the most serious and literally historic documents. The treaty between two sovereign states, Kazakhstan and Russia, enters into legal force today. This is certainly the result of our common efforts. This has proved possible thanks to a jointly elaborated formula of consensus, at the heart of which are two components: mutual respect and equality of rights between the sides.

Russia and Kazakhstan are now two sovereign states. But our sovereignty does not destroy our links, as our opponents sometimes try to depict it. On the contrary, it absorbs the centuries old experience of cooperation between the two peoples. Our aspiration to friendly, mutually advantageous relations, as partners, with Kazakhstan and other states in this region, is not coincidental and is not based on short-term considerations.

Russia is a large Euro-Asian power. From the earliest times, it was oriented equally both toward Europe and toward the East. We have deep political, economic and cultural roots in Asia. This is why we view the Asian thrust in Russia's foreign policy as one of priority. We are ready to join the agreement recently concluded by five states in this region, in which, as you know, a great organizing role belongs to the president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev.

Russia is ready to open up to the East, and has built its relations in this region on the principles of mutual advantage and respect for sovereignty, without any ideological reservations. We remember very well how in the recent past political leaders hypocritically held forth on the hundreds of threads linking the republics and peoples of the USSR. There were, of course, these threads, but there was also something else: constraints restricting scope for initiative, disparaging national dignity and turning peoples into a faceless commonality, without historical memory, without originality, and as a result, without mutual respect. There was much fine talk about the friendship of peoples. Meanwhile, in everyday life, at the workplace and in politics, mutual hostility gained in strength and national arrogance grew stronger.

Our task, I think, is to do everything possible to straighten out these deformations. The state treaty concluded by us is a dependable foundation for tackling this very serious problem. All the same, I am not inclined to take final stock of things. I am convinced that the coming into force of the treaty is merely the beginning of a long and, probably, complex road which history itself has decreed that we should travel together. Today we are only laying the foundation of mutual interaction in all areas. Without it, there will not be harmonious relations between the two sovereign states, between the two states.

What are the main results of the Alma-Ata meeting? First, a protocol was signed on the exchange of instruments of ratification on a interstate treaty between Kazakhstan and Russia. Second, an intergovernmental agreement was signed on economic cooperation for 1992. Third, a joint appeal to the USSR president was drawn up and signed, containing specific proposals to settle the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Fourth, proposals were jointly drawn up and signed on the 15 USSR republics forming a unified economic market area. Fifth, a political statement was made on guarantees of the stability and integrity of the republics making up the union of Soviet states.

Serious work lies ahead of us. Our governments and economic departments must, as they say, develop the treaty into specific programs and decisions. A large role can be played in this connection by the economic agreement between Kazakhstan and Russia for 1992, as was discussed today at this morning meeting between the presidents and heads of government.

Step-by-step, we are winning our sovereignty. Much that not so long ago was a formality is today acquiring a different sense and a different meaning. This relates, first and foremost, to our diplomatic departments. The success of the practical implementation of the treaty will to a large degree depend upon their efforts and mutual interaction.

Our meeting is taking place on the eve of a significant event, the start of the signing of the new Union treaty. As you know, various political circles have differing attitudes to the Union treaty. There are convinced supporters of its earliest possible signing, who include President Nazarbayev and me. There are also quite a lot of opponents. Well, such a difference of opinion is obviously inevitable. This step is too serious for the future of each state and people.

I would like to state that yes, we, Russia, are in favor of the signing of the Union treaty, although we are also dissatisfied with those articles which are based on compromise. We would like the center to be reduced both in volume of power and in the numbers in the central apparatus, so that the republics' independence might be real and not just formal, for show.

A Kazakh proverb which might be used on such an occasion, in relation to the center, appealed to me: Where there are many shepherds, the sheep die.

Finishing my speech, I cannot help but note that we republics are the sheep. [laughter and applause]. Finishing my speech I cannot help but note that I am sincerely glad to come to a sovereign Kazakhstan, all the more so for the first time on business here. I would like to note especially our delegation's gratitude to the president, to the state leadership and to the residents of splendid Alma-Ata for their warm meeting and for their cordiality and the sincerity of their feelings.

All of this cannot be replaced by any diplomatic protocol. I am convinced that these feelings are a pledge for our success in cooperation in the future and a pledge to the fact that we will resolve our problems by joint efforts, on a common path toward prosperity and progress. Thank you.

Nazarbayev Gives Treaty Signing Speech

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[Speech by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev at ceremony marking signing of Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan in Alma-Ata on 17 August—recorded]

[Text]I would like to again greet the state delegation of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federation led by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, first president of the Russian Federation. We welcome brothers on the soil of Kazakhstan. The historic significance of the moment rests in the fact that in our interstate relations two heads of state have met for the first time as leaders of sovereign states.

I would like to especially stress that the visit of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the first president of Russia, to Kazakhstan is connected with the issue of strengthening friendship and cooperation between our republics. I hope that you all understand that this act of exchanging ratification documents is not just a formal undertaking. The

bilateral links between the Union republics are of great significance for the strengthening of our statehood, for the preservation of a single economic space and for the upkeeping of stability in the country. In this respect it is impossible to overestimate the interrelations with Russia.

I would say that they play a leading role in the preservation of the Union, in making ethnic relations healthier and in preventing the disintegration of the country and of its national economy complex. I would not like to again resort to figures in order to support what has been already said on the economic potential of our republics. These figures are known.

I would like to speak about other factors which are more important from the political and social points of view and which lay upon us the specific responsibility for the character of future relations.

History has decreed that it is precisely our republics that have become a distinctive bridge between the civilizations of the East and West. We are correct when we speak not of simply being neighbors but also of how close our fates are. Chokan Valikhanov, the great Kazakh educator and scientist, understood the core of such a thing in the previous century when he wrote that Kazakh people think of themselves, together with the Russians, as brothers of one homeland. The mutual attraction of our peoples toward each other has always had and still has objective sociopolitical and economic reasons.

But the matter is not so much in the distant past as in the present. The unique position of Russia and Kazakhstan is in their multi-ethnic composition, in all the sociopolitical, socio-economic and spiritual life of our republics, defined first and foremost by the multi-ethnic character of the population. There do not exist anywhere else such two republics that are as alike as us. Not abstract people, but all of us together with you are simply, in the best meaning of the word, fated to live side by side and to live as good neighbors.

Otherwise, nothing will work. In this case, the word friendship is acquiring its real meaning, free from its contemporary ironic. and sometimes, cinical flavor. This is why I am perfectly sure that if separatist tendencies prevail anywhere in Kazakhstan or Russia, then the Soviet Union will cease to exist. Moreover, life in the republics themselves will stop. I think that a deep understanding of this, both by the Russians and the residents of Kazakhstan, manifested itself in their, effectively, unanimous voting in favor of the preservation of the Union at the referendum that took place.

Taking into consideration this demonstration of people's will, and aware of a responsibility for their future, the leadership of Russia and Kazakhstan have always spoken, and is urgently speaking, in favor of a speedy signing of the Union treaty. It must be also taken into consideration that the present and final version of the treaty was drafted by the republics themselves, who are the founders of the new union, and not by the center. Tomorrow, Boris Nikolayevich and I are flying to Moscow, so that on 20 August we can put our signatures on the Union treaty, as we are authorized to do by the parliaments of our two republics.

At the same time, our positions are also largely similar on the question that the union cannot exist in its former imperial shape. There is no contradiction here. While binding our union together by new principles of a commonwealth of sovereign republics, we should by no means lose the great sense of unity of our fatherland.

We renounce the imperial methods of administration, imperial mentality, not the country which has been built over centuries and not the ties of friendshop that have linked our peoples together.

There are also economic ties. It is impermissible to let the economy down at this point, the economic space that has been also built over centuries, instead of breathing new spirit into it, that of a market and of common sense. It was this that brought our republics, last autumn, to starting work on an interrepublican treaty on cooperation. As you know, we were the first who, before that, had concluded such agreements with the republics of central Asia. By doing this, we pursued the aims which were purely economic, since the center was protracting the work on the Union treaty. While life simply demanded that we should protect the internal market, strengthen the discipline of deliveries according to contracts, and establish efficient horisontal ties. However, many saw political implications in that meeting, suggesting that the Asian republics are trying to stick together. At that, frankly speaking, crucial point, a lot depended on understanding of our aims by other republics. We are grateful to Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia that they did not only support us, but also agreed to conclude similar treaties with us, because they saw a reliable basis for stabilization in new interrepublican links.

These treaties have had great economic impact. We also see a number of aspects fundamental for ourselves in the agreement with Russia, in particular, recognition of the territorial integrity of the republics and the immutability of borders.

In a word, the core of the present Union treaty is indeed based upon these agreements. Further, interrepublican ties and the conditions of validity of the new treaty will continue to play their positive role, to the degree that they promote rapprochement between the republics. The recent meeting in Tashkent between the republics of central Asia and Kazakhstan confirmed this conclusion afresh. Azerbaijan joined us in the capacity of observer, and with prospects of being a partner. We created an interrepublican consultative council. I communicated the results of the Tashkent meeting to Boris Nikolayevich, and he appraised them highly and gave them his backing.

The two of us started work yesterday and jointly drew up several documents, the essence of which I should like to say a few words about. Thus, we exchanged instruments of ratification, and an intergovernmental agreement for 1992 and an agreement between the republican ministries of foreign affairs were concluded. We and our comrades thought it necessary to appeal to USSR President Mikhail

Sergeyevich Gorbachev on eliminating the Armenian-Azerbaijani interethnic conflict. We made a joint statement on guarantees of the stability of the union of sovereign states. A statement was adopted on the need to create a unified economic area for all 15 republics, in accordance with the USSR Constitution of 1977. Each of these documents contains what we regard as constructive proposals capable of breaking through the crisis phenomena in the political, economic and social spheres of our life. I am convinced that reliable guarantees for the whole country are included in the reliable partnership and community of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan. Thank you.

17 Aug News Conference Cited

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[News conference in Alma-Ata on 17 August with Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev for Soviet and foreign correspondents; correspondents individually identified where possible; Yeltsin, Nazarbayev, their aides, and Russian Prime Minister Silayev shown seated at table at news conference—recorded]

[Text] [Yeltsin] On behalf of the Russian Federation delegation I welcome you. I am pleased to have this meeting with you and hope that it will be useful for your work, which is difficult but so important. I don't believe you will object if I start with some introductory remarks, as is customary in such circumstances. Let me begin with the main point, with what I am sure all of you are interested in—the purpose of our visit and what President Nazarbayev and I have managed to achieve.

I shall say immediately that quite a lot has been done. Yesterday and today in the capital of sovereign Kazakhstan, the wonderful city of Alma-Ata, an event has taken place which will go down as a landmark in the political life, not only of our two republics and not only of our country. Of course, the talks which have taken place dealt primarily with questions concerning our bilateral relations. These are extraordinarily important inasmuch as they lay the foundation for forming relations of a fundamentally new kind between two sovereign states, states which are prepared, along with others, to take upon themselves obligations of alliance within the framework of a qualitatively new federation. We have exchanged ratification documents and have thereby set in motion all the mechanisms built into the interstate treaty between Russia and Kazakhstan. This alone would entitle our meeting to be considered successful and fruitful. In addition we have managed to take several extremely important steps and to do even more than we had envisaged.

Despite all the difficulties we have prepared and concluded an inter-governmental economic agreement for 1992. What is the chief point it contains? It establishes mutually beneficial relations based on equal rights and partnership between the two republics. It creates a basis for a normal market-style circulation of goods and exchange of goods. This also means the effective functioning of our economic potentials. You know that an economic agreement has also been concluded for 1991, but that was founded on the basis existing in 1990. I am confident that the effect of implementing the agreement signed today will be felt both here in Kazakhstan and for us in Russia. That is the basis of our mutual understanding, the basis of the relationship between the leaders of two republics in whom power is vested. This is more than just words. There are specific results which confirm what I have been saying.

In the course of the private conversations between the two presidents, and in the course of the talks between the delegations, a number of possibilities for joint initiatives opened up with regard to the whole of the union and all of the states which currently belong to it. First, we have prepared and signed a joint appeal to the USSR president containing a package of measures worked out by us to settle the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Today this is a bleeding wound and it has to be healed, not smothered in words, as has been the case for 5 years. We have proposed to the USSR president to immediately begin the negotiating process directed at reconciling the belligerent forces.

For our part, President Nazarbayev and I are prepared to be mediators in these talks, if Gorbachev himself lacks the resources for this and our republics are prepared to be the guarantors of compliance with all possible accords between the republics. Second, we have elaborated proposals to all 15 republics—well, to 13, not counting our two—which currently make up the union to form a single economic area, because by concluding the Union treaty with only nine republics while six don't enter the Union, we lose the economic area, of course, the more so during the transition to a market economy, which will aggravate our crisis situation still further. These proposals do not contain political conditions, just common sense, just mutual advantage between the republics. I think that this is the direction in which it is currently possible to reach consensus among all the republics which still belong to the Union, all 15 of them.

Third, we have made a joint political statement on guarantees of stability among the states belonging to the renewed federation. Where does its main idea lie? The territorial integrity of each sovereign state is the foundation of the integrity of the whole Union. We have a common understanding of the problem, a common aspiration to act in this direction, and considering that this problem is most acute in Russia, I am grateful to President Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev for his clear and principled stance on this issue. I am sure that everything that has occurred here in Alma-Ata is a sure base for founding the new Union. This is, perhaps, our main result. It is important not only for our two states.

This is an example for everyone, an example of the fact that only upon the basis of respect, sovereignty, and equality is it possible to free oneself from totalitarianism and imperial statehood. This alone opens up the way to a Union to which people will aspire, believing it to be advantageous and honorable. Our work is not yet complete and it will not, I think, be completed here. Serious work

lies ahead in order to implement the accords reached in the course of the Alma-Ata meeting. Nevertheless we have grounds to declare that we have achieved the goals set, the meeting was successful, and productive. We have not only opened up a new page in our bilateral relations but have also mapped out a common road for all sovereign states in the Union toward freedom, democracy, and progress. This road will of course not be an easy one, but I believe it will be one that yields results. We must traverse it together, supporting and helping one another. Many thanks, I wish you success. [applause]

[Nazarbayev] Esteemed President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, esteemed members of the delegation, guests at our meeting. Permit me, on behalf of our republic, from myself, and from you, to once again welcome the state delegation of the sovereign Russian Soviet Socialist Republic on their arrival and to congratulate you on our successful work on the accords. I congratulate you on the fact that the delegation has achieved the aims for which it came, and the talks are proceeding successfully, and I think that the stay of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and the members of the delegation in Kazakhstan will provide an opportunity of understanding the sincere feeling of friendship, the attitude of all the people of Kazakhstan toward fraternal Russia, and toward the great Russian people, our great neighbor.

Our mutual relations have deep historical roots going back to the 15th century. Especially when it was necessary to defend ourselves from enslavers from the east or from the south, we were always together. If we are to speak of more recent history, we also have to recall the discontent of the people in 1905 and 1916 against the imperialist war, when our peoples rose up together. If we look further back into history, a great many Kazakhs took part in the Pugachev peasant uprising. Today, Boris Nikolayevich, you will visit the glory memorial where a monument stands to the Panfilov heroes who were formed here on the territory of Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, and who all fell defending the capital of our homeland, Moscow. There are the lofty words by [name indistinct] who said: Great Russia, behind us is Moscow, there is nowhere to retreat to. This bears out that always, in times of happiness and misfortune, our peoples were together.

At this difficult time the destiny of the leaders of the two sovereign states lies in strengthening these relations on a completely new basis and in giving people confidence in the future. We proclaimed in the agreement which we signed with you in Moscow last year that all peoples living in the two multinational republics are absolutely equal and their rights will be guaranteed in spite of nationality, faith, party membership, and so on. We follow this rule precisely, not only in documents but in our actions.

There is no need for me to repeat what documents we have signed here. I consider that they are of key importance for politics, both inside the country and abroad. As for personal relations between me and Boris Nikolayevich, you also know my views from the press and from what I have said. Boris Nikolayevich and the new leadership of the Russian Federation are paving a path to sovereignty for the republics and we are always conscious that in this he is bearing the main brunt. President Yeltsin and I have jointly advocated the preservation of our unified state as a great power, our fatherland. We have advocated that the peoples should live in peace and that a second civil war should not be allowed to happen, one which we would undoubtedly never survive. Together we are advocating the elimination of inter-ethnic conflicts. Finally, we jointly advocate, through the transition to a new economic set-up, a radical reforming of our economic system. We cannot retreat to our separate corners. Only unity in economic matters, only preserving and strengthening these links will enable us to come together out of the crisis and create a normal human economic system. We have always been united on all these key points.

I shall take this opportunity, Boris Nikolayevich, to congratulate you, on behalf of Kazakhstan, on your victory at the recent difficult elections and on your election as the first president of the Russian Federation. I wish you success. [applause] And so, I believe that much journalistic research will be devoted to the documents which we have signed—very serious documents in our view—and documents, let me repeat, directed toward giving depth and real meaning to our republics' sovereignty declarations. In signing the Union treaty we hope that this will mean that a document will finally be adopted which, from the state of instability and of marking time and from the inertia which currently exists in the country, will lead at last to a state of real sovereignty and of economic and political freedom for each republic which, as a fraternal partner will [passage indistinct due to break in reception].

[Text] [Nazarbayev, answer in progress] ...We cannot leave them, so to speak, in a situation where we signed but you didn't, so that means everything explodes to bits. Life is much more complicated than we think. Although in the Union treaty we write that the nine will enjoy most favored status, we must enter into economic agreements with them. This is why we appealed in today's statement to all the previous 15 republics to meet together in order to determine our further mutual relations.

[Gorinbekov] I have a question for the president of Russia. AZAT independent newspaper, chief editor Gorinbekov. Boris Nikolayevich, you are probably aware of the fact that for the last 42 years the Semipalatinsk testing range has been on Kazakh land. Two and a half Hiroshimas have already been exploded there—(2,500?) Hiroshimas. But the military-industrial complex is now preparing two explosions. How does Russia regard our testing range. Will you help our poeple rid itself of the nuclear plague? What is your attitude to this issue in the documents you have adopted?

[Yeltsin] It is a matter of principle to me that two states in particular, the Soviet Union and the United States, should make a decision and achieve an agreement on stopping the testing of nuclear weapons—completely. Such talks took place when I had meetings with U.S. President Bush, both in Washington and in Moscow, as well as with U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney, and other figures, in the Pentagon. Of course, their approach to this issue so far has

been that of extreme caution. However, I insisted that let us, if it is impossible to stop at once, at least sign an agreement on a stage- by stage reduction of both the volume and the number of explosions, and also the yield of the explosions. This is the first point which is a matter of principle.

I am most certainly in favor of stopping immediately, and never holding any more tests, in Semipalatinsk. At the moment, the Ministry of Defense has suggested that two more explosions should be conducted there. Moreover, they are prepared to pay 5 billion rubles as a kind of compensation for this. I do not know what your own attitude to such a deal is, but I think that it is time to stop any further insults to the people who live around that zone and, by the way, not only in Kazakhstan, but also in the Russian Federation. There should be no more explosions, while the compensation should be demanded for all the damage that has already been done to the people. [applause] I will firmly support this.

Moreover, yet another problem, the next one, exists in Russia— that of Novaya Zemlya. Having stopped in Semipalatinsk, the Ministry of Defense made a decision on a five-fold increase in the volume and number of nuclear explosions on Novaya Zemlya. But what is Novaya Zemlya? It is vulnerable ecology. Very vulnerable and sensitive. It would not bear such interference. Already the first explosions have scared away the flocks of birds, which for thousands of years had been gathering there. The birds' droppings used to provide food for the fish, so the fish are gone. That is to say, an ecological process has started which would not be reversed in the future. No way. Not for another several thousand years. It is crime to hold nuclear tests on Novaya Zemlya. So we are going to firmly oppose the continuation of those explosions as well. [applause]

[Text] [Correspondent] [name indistinct] of TRUD newspaper. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, today two presidents have made a very important statement regarding the integrity of the republics. In connection with this, I would like to know: how strong is the understanding within the leadership of the Russian Federation of the fact that the former autonomies are signing the Union treaty together with Russia and what will happen if Tatarstan will not change its position before the 20th [August]? And Nursultan Abishevich, in such a situation, what would be the position of Kazakhstan? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] The preparatory committee consisted of the leaders of the republics, including those leaders of republics situated within other republics—there are 16 of them in Russia. It worked probably for about 3 months I think; for about 3 months it worked very intensely if I can put it that way and an agreement in principle was reached on the procedure for the signing. That is to say, republics within a republic are to sign as part of the delegation of that republic in alphabetical order. Let's take the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] delegation—there is Bashkiria, Buryatia, and Tatarstan. In principle, all the republics except Tatarstan have agreed to this formula, just as the whole of the preparatory committee agreed to it and such a resolution was adopted on the principle of signing in this way.

Even today, Tatarstan—in spite of the fact that our talks with the Tatarstan delegation lasted a whole 3 days and then there was the talk I had with President Shaymiyev—are insisting that they should sign the treaty independently alongside the present-day Union republics, that is to say, as Nine plus One, if I can put it this way, with the one concerned being Tatarstan rather than the center.

Our position could not be firmer on this. This must not be allowed. I would say that this would be the start of the collapse of the Union [corrects himself] of Russia and there would be a chain reaction. This is the view of the Union President Gorbachev. Clearly, Tatarstan will not sign the treaty on the 20th. But before 10 October, before the signing of the treaty is finished, as Shaymiyev stated yesterday, together we will look for some sort of formula by which the treaty can be signed.

[Nazarbayev] As regards my position, I have had to speak of this before. Beginning with the Nine plus One processes, there were the very intensive Novo-Ogarevo sessions of the Federation Council. If you recall we went on from two in the afternoon until two at night; in the debates, arguments about one proposal sometimes went on for 2-3 hours. We found points on which all could agree, we reached consensus, and one step at a time we emerged from this. Of course, we had to take into account the positions of the former autonomous republics which have now declared themselves to be sovereign republics.

As regards my own view, I respect the peoples of the republics which have declared themselves to be republics expressing their will. I know that Boris Nikolayevich has exactly the same attitude, but we have always said—and I have firmly stood by this position, and the leaders of the former autonomous entities have supported this—we should not allow the Russian Federation to fall apart. Taking into account the fact that 51

of the population of our country live within the Russian Federation and that we produce 60

of its economic potential, and also bearing in mind its influence on the preservation of the whole Union and our state, well, it is difficult really to overestimate this influence.

Progressing from this principle, all the republics stated that we are not in favor of the Union falling apart, and we want to be a part of a federation based on agreement. If you have read the final version of the Union treaty, then you will be aware we in a separate article for Russia saying that there can be federative as well as other relations. It must be appreciated that the Russian leadership went along with this as well, although it is a very complex issue.

I am convinced that common sense will prevail, and while thinking the matter over in this spirit, then all the republics will be able to resolve their problems.

[Ismailov] Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, Ismailov, Kazakhstan's Union of Journalists. Recently Yuriy Blokhin, a co-chairman of the Soyuz group of deputies, expressed the following opinion: an independent republic should be set up on the basis of northern oblasts of Kazakhstan. Such opinions are frequently heard. You know that in his article Solzhenytsin has the same attitude to Kazakhstan. As the leader of Russia and a genuinely Russian person, what do you think of such opinions? What is your asessment of them?

[Yeltsin] I do not just condemn but I categorically protest against opinions of such sort. I want borders which exist today to be preserved. Yes, they say that the Crimea should also be handed over to Russia. No, we think that if we were to change the borders which have already taken shape today there would be no end to this process. It will bring hostility and bloodshed. But we are in favor of peace. We are in favor of good and neighborly relations, moreover, between Russia and Kazakhstan. Indeed, they have been together from the 15th Century. That is why it is out of the question that officially we will claim some of the territories, let's say. No, and no again.

[Selikhov] Yevgeniy Selikhov, INTERFAX Agency. Boris Nikolayevich, during the winter you were saying that your platform was that you would adhere to the need for a union coalition government and to the fact that Russia claims the Prime Minister, Defense Minister, and Finance Minister portfolios in this coalition government. Has your position remained unchanged? Do you still claim those posts? Nursultan Abishevich, do you agree with the principle of a coalition government and which posts do you claim?

[Yeltsin] Let me make it clear. I did indeed state that I favor a coalition government, but I did not state that Russia is laying a claim to those portfolios. In that sense, I do not accept your question. Today I remain in favor of a coalition government. But that is not the main point. The main thing is that there is a need for a radical reorganization of the whole Union power structure. That is what the notion of the renewed Union is about. If we sign the Union treaty but the Pavlov cabinet remains—archaic, with its chairman and with 70 ministries—then just as they have been putting pressure on us in the past, they will continue to do so.

As I have said, so many shepherds, but the sheep are dying. There are tens of thousands of shepherds, therefore the most important thing is that the reorganization of this power structure should be such that it will end up as an interrepublican body, on a coalition basis, and that there will be representatives of all the republics in the Union carrying out various duties. I even think—perhaps Nursultan Abishevich feels awkward in talking about this—but I think that he could easily be a candidate for the main role in this. [applause]

[Nazarbayev] Thank you Boris Nikolayevich, but there is a lot to do here in Kazakhstan, you see. [Laughter in the hall]

[Yeltsin] Forgive me then.

[Nazarbayev] Of course. So, on this issue, I stand by the Nine Plus One statement in which we clearly set out how authority should be reorganized after the Union treaty is signed. If you recall, and I would remind you, by the time that 6 months have passed from the signing of the Union Treaty, a Constitution must have been adopted along with a new law on elections, and all the supreme legislative authorities should have been reorganized; in place of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, there should be a Supreme Soviet made up of two chambers. Moreover, there should be a Republican Council to which the republics themselves will delegate. Also, the Union Council will be elected according to territories. Then this new body will of course begin the formation of a completely new government.

Now we are on the threshold or we have already entered a very deep crisis. We can expect things to be very unpleasant in the economy this year. Even now, we can already feel this. Now, a stabilization program has been worked out with the republics. This stabilization program, along with the Union Treaty and its article by article implementation, should be carried out by a government of national confidence. I stand alongside Boris Nikolayevich on this. I do not know what the outcome will be, but I am in favor of a strong government. A coalition government means one with representatives from other republics who will work there just as we have worked together. When I met him, Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke of this, of the fact that we need a strong government whose members should represent the interests of all the republics. I think that this is what we must have if we want to make progress and carry out radical reforms to the economy.

[Yannich] Konstantin Yannich, chief editor of the newspaper DEUTSCHE AllGEMEINE. I have a question for the Russian president. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich. Today's editions of German newspapers have published your reply to a question about your vision as to how the German question in the USSR should be resolved, in Russia in particular. You said that you are sure that the German problem should be tackled, that you will resolve it, and that you will find a way for the German population to be concentrated in the Russian Federation. Thank you for such a bold statement. However, I would like to hear a more specific answer from you to the question: will a German republic be established in Russia? If yes, then in your view, when could this occur? Another question linked to this: A congress of Germans in the USSR is scheduled for October. You are invited to this congress. Will you be there? Also at this congress, the Volga Germans are planning to declare themselves an autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. What will your attitude be to this resolution? Thank you for your reply.

[Yeltsin] Yes, I stated, replying to this question, that we will not get away without resolving this question. This is a question of simply a fair attitude to the Volga Germans. A question of justice. We have for a long time—at least the commission set up by the Supreme Soviet—has been working on how and where to look for territories in the

Volga region where it would be possible to have concentrated settlements, because there are 800,000 people. This has proved to be very difficult. At least, all the leaders of all the oblasts of the Volga region spoke against it, so we have to fight them too. But I am convinced that this issue must be resolved, no matter how difficult it is. I cannot, of course, give you the date, month, hour, or even the year when this will be resolved. But I think, with goodwill, the leadership of Russia with, of course, the active work which is now being done by the union of the Volga Germans, and I regard this positively, still will give an opportunity to solve this problem. Perhaps not at one concentrated place. Perhaps at two or three places, perhaps at four, but a place will be found so that we somehow provide a place where the Volga Germans can be placed together.

As regards the congress, I have been invited. I cannot see impediments, except death, to keep me away. If I am alive I will go.

[Yannich] Thank you. We will hope you will be alive.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] The following question to the presidents: Today you signed an appeal to the USSR president in connection with the conflict between Armenia and Azerbajan; in this connection the question is as follows: Do you think it is possible for these republics to sign the Union treaty before the settlement of the conflict and again, in this connection, if you think it is possible then, if one of these republics signs the Union treaty, will not the states which have nothing to do with this conflict, that is Russia and Kazakhstan, find themselves on the side of one of the republics?

[Nazarbayev] I understand. I know that with regard to this question the opinion of Boris Nikolayevich and myself coincides completely. I would like to tell you that the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet has already approved the draft and it will sign the treaty in accordance with the schedule on 10 October, while in Armenia in September—I do not remember the date—a referendum is scheduled—on 21 September—the referendum on joining the Union treaty.

My information is that the majority of the peoples of Armenia will declare themselves. If one republic ends up in the Union and the other not, that does not of course mean that the whole of the new Union will be puting pressure on the republic which stays out. That would run counter to our, to my understanding, of political matters. Quite the reverse, we have to help these peoples in today's difficult period. Some kind of consensus has begun: things seemed to be starting to improve, now they've become worse. That is why Boris Nikolayevich and I issued our statement today. We are prepared to act as guarantors in the most serious manner with regard to all these problems if, of course—and we added this rider—both sides consider our involvement as acceptable and useful.

[Yeltsin] I agree. Even before signing this very serious appeal today to Gorbachev, the country's president, Nursultan Abishevich and I first told President Gorbachev about this at a personal meeting with him. We said that if he is not managing to bring his influence to bear in order to ensure that the leaders of the republics sit down at the negotiating table, let us two presidents help him. Perhaps acting as three presidents we could surmount the problem more rapidly and, most important of all, sit the parties down at the negotiating table and make sure that the negotiating process starts. It may last a long time, of course, it may not proceed quickly, but the main thing is that its very commencement will somehow stabilize the situation there.

[Buslykov] [Word indistinct] radio commentator Buslykov. Boris Nikolayevich and Nursultan Abishevich, you will both know that special consideration must be given at this time with regard to the correlation between republican and Union prices. These correlations have now to a large extent been found not to make sense. This can been seen graphically in the context of foodstuffs and staples, prices for which are partially established by Union and partially by republican pricing bodies. The local soviets also get involved. Because of high prices, these goods have become subject to panic buying. If definite steps are not taken by the presidents of the Union republics, an acute shortage of essential and vital goods has to be expected in the near future. What do you intend to do about this?

[Nazarbayev] That is a good question. Everyone is worried about this. If we want to maintain a single market space, and that is something we are in favor of, the stabilization of the economy as a whole, with the same money and the same currency for everyone throughout the country, cannot be stabilized without coordination and joint decisionmaking in one place.

However, it happened that this price rise, which neither Boris Nikolayevich nor I supported—it is Comrade Pavlov and his cabinet who are responsible for it, particularly since it was never subjected to the coordination procedure—but in principle, when we raised wholesale prices as far back as 1 January, we then, for a whole quarter, lived with distorted prices. Wholesale ones went up and consumer goods were accumulating in storehouses, while there was no way to sell them, as you know. Therefore, we have certainly implemented this price rise while other measures, which should have been taken jointly, were never taken. Therefore, in our economic agreement, which the heads of the two governments signed today, we speak about coordinated prices.

Also in Tashkent, the five [Central Asian] republics were also speaking about coordinated prices. Well, you know, the moment prices of fuel, for instance, go up in Chimkent everybody goes to Tashkent. Or the other way round. In the same way, Russia and ourselves are neighbors, very close neighbors indeed, both in the North and in the West. There are, of course, no border posts or guards there. I mean, this could not be done. Therefore, there must be coordinated work in the country as a whole, and between the republics in particular. Say, for example, if the prices of our raw materials are fixed—today we have fixed prices of coal, oil, and raw materials for the metal industry—and it is we, the two major republics who export raw materials, which probably account for 90% of all raw materials in the Soviet Union, who suffer the most from this.

[Yeltsin] I would like to add something. The nine republics which are now going to join the Union and sign the new Union treaty; in this Union treaty there is a clear article which reads that all prices must be coordinated between the republics and the center. I think that this is going to be observed. But what is more difficult is the other six republics which have not left the Union do not have any borders and use the same currency, and yet establish prices according to their own will.

In Russia, for example, we suffer the most from the policy in the Baltics where, the moment they sharply alter the prices of foodstuffs and consumer goods without any coordination, all our regions along the borders we share with them, in the situation where there are no borders proper, suffer immediately. Say, for instance, Lithuania sharply raised its procurement prices of meat. I mean, procurement prices. From Kaliningrad oblast and thereabouts the roads are good and the peasants took all their livestock to sell in Lithuania—you see. Kaliningrad oblast itself, you know, was very nearly left completely without livestock. It is a good thing that we established contact and signed a treaty with Lithuania, and things have calmed down. This is to say, regarding all these republics which have not signed, it is indeed important for us to gather all 15 republics together in order to sign an economic agreement which also includes coordination with regard to price changes.

[Kazakh correspondent] [name indistinct] of the republican newspaper [word indistinct], organ of the republic's Supreme Soviet and government. I have a question for the president of Russia. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, do you consider it right that the 400th anniversary of the Cossacks swearing allegiance to Russia is being marked in mid-September in Uralsk oblast in our republic, that is to say that the anniversary of the Cossacks' serving Russia is being marked in the territory of sovereign Kazakhstan? Would it not have been right to hold these celebrations, say, in the Don or Kuban areas—that is, to mark this Russian anniversary in Russia? And in general what is your attitude toward the Cossacks?

[Yeltsin] This process, of course, is not occurring only in Kazakhstan. The process is very widespread in Russia at present in relation to the Cossacks. In principle I have a positive attitude toward the formation of Cossack sociopolitical organizations, but not territorial and administrative organizations. The fact that they are aspiring, say, to hold celebrations in your republic is not right in my opinion. I learned about this today from the president and I have a note about this. I shall of course try to exert an influence in order to have the celebrations moved to Russia's territory. But in principle a problem does exist and it is necessary, of course, to take a calm approach toward it and to be respectful toward the Cossacks. Let them develop as a movement, but under no circumstances so that it grows into some kind of territorial aspirations. That cannot be permitted.

[Nazarbayev] Thank you.

[Yeltsin] Thank You

Yeltsin on Alma-Ata Talks

LD1708161591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1345 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Report by station correspondent Oleg Klimov in Alma-Ata on the visit by the RSFSR delegation led by RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin]

[Text] The program for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] state delegation's visit to Kazakhstan includes not only the ratification of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the two republics, but also the elaboration of joint documents. Work on these documents continued until late yesterday evening and was resumed early this morning. The documents were finally agreed upon by the sides in the presence of journalists after a one-to-one meeting between RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

This is what the head of the Russian delegation said about these documents when he spoke at the final round of the talks.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] The two presidents and the two prime ministers agreed that the agreement to be signed today will be for the time being on the principles for our economic relations in 1992 and at the same time instructions will be issued to absolutely all departments in both of the states so that prior to 15 September specific figures not only be prepared but indeed be signed for our economic relations for 1992 so that in the month of January we do not find ourselves suddenly unprepared for, I would say, the decisive year of 1992. I am convinced that 1992 will be decisive in the sense that we shall all perish or survive as regards the economy, finances, the social sphere, people's moods, and so forth.

After we arrived here by air yesterday we discussed a further three issues. The first of these is the protracted conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan as regards the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which the country's president is unfortunately unable to resolve. Obviously there are objective and subjective circumstances in this regard, but one feels for some reason that there will be no getting by without mediators and without guarantors—moreover, respected republics as guarantors. Together with Gorbachev we—that is, Nazarbayev and Yeltsin—want to act as guarantors of a stabilization of the situation in this region. When blood is being shed and no measures are being taken, when blood is being shed and the Soviet Army and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] subunits are increasingly involved, it is a conflict without end. For this reason indeed it is necessary to adopt some original measures and we agree to devote both the time that this requires and the prestige of our republics and our own prestige in order to try to get all three leaders, of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, seated at the negotiating table.

Regarding the next two documents, there is our joint declaration on economic stabilization to the effect that the Union treaty is at present being signed by nine republics while six republics are falling out of the Union, that is, the economic market area is being sharply contracted, but

relations between the republics have been developing for decades and they are linked by thousands of threads and it is now impossible to break them. It is a major blow to all our nine republics and, of course, first and foremost in a big way to Kazakhstan, Russia, the Ukraine, and so forth.

Therefore we wish to appeal to all 15 republics—to be more precise, 13, since the two issuing the appeal cannot be counted—to sit down at the negotiating table and sign an economic agreement. If they don't want to sign the Union treaty, let all 15 republics sign an economic agreement, so that we have a completely united market area. The ties that used to exist should not just be retained but even developed if possible.

The next joint declaration concerns the integral nature of our two sovereign states and we are addressing our appeal to others too. We believe that the unity of Russia is quite crucial to the future of the Union, because 16 republics within Russia have declared their sovereignty, since Russia has 130 nations and ethnic groups. That is a complicated question, the question of nationalities. We consider that it can be resolved and we are handling this issue calmly, without exacerbating the situation. So far we have had no clashes or bloodshed. [sound of tapping] Is this wood?

[Unidentified speaker] Yes, it's wood.

[Yeltsin] Good. The situation is not simple in Kazakhstan either, is it? Superficially, perhaps, everything might seem normal, even though you also have representatives of 100 nations and ethnic groups living here in Kazakhstan. Here too there is a certain amount of internal tension. [end recording]

Boris Yeltsin then spoke in more detail about the problems that Russia has in this respect:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Of the 16 republics in Russia, only Tatarstan is refusing at the moment. It is insisting on signing the Union treaty independently as a Union republic. In other words there won't be nine, but 10. We do not agree with this. I do not agree with this. Gorbachev does not agree with this. Nursultan Abishevich does not agree and is upholding this position very firmly. We believe that this is not proper. If we allow this to happen, a chain reaction will start. So, this is to be taken as a warning. [end recording]

The exchange of ratification documents and the signing of the main agreements took place at the residence of the President of Kazakhstan. Speaking at the ceremony, Boris Yeltsin said:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Russia is prepared to turn to the East and base its relations in this region on the principles of mutual advantage and respect for sovereignty, without any ideological reservations. The state treaty concluded by us is a dependable foundation for tackling this very serious problem. All the same, I am not inclined to take final stock of things. I am convinced that the coming into force of the treaty is merely the beginning of a long and, probably, complex road which history itself has decreed that we should travel together.

Our meeting is taking place on the eve of a significant event, the start of the signing of the new Union treaty. As you know, various political circles have differing attitudes toward the Union treaty. There are convinced supporters of its earliest possible signing, who include President Nazarbayev and me. There are also quite a lot of opponents. Well, such a difference of opinions is obviously inevitable: This step is too serious for the future of each state and people. I want to state this: We, Russia, are for the signing of the Union treaty, although we are not satisfied with the articles that are based on a compromise, either. [end recording]

In the afternoon, to all intents and purposes, the official part of the visit ended and the cultural program began. It includes an inspection of the Medeo sports complex, visits to museums in Alma-Ata, and placing flowers at the memorial to the glory of the Panfilov heroes

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Urge Stability

LD1708140891 Moscow TASS in English 146 GMT 17 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Borodinov]

[Text] Alma Ata August 17 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who arrived in Kazakhstan's capital Alma-Ata on Friday, and Kazakhstan president Nursultan Nazarbayev today called for the creation of a single economic space for all the fifteen republics of the USSR and guarantees of the Union's stability.

They proposed that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev call upon the leaders of the all the republics to agree on the date and venue of a working meeting of the heads of the fifteen sovereign states to discuss the entire range of economic and social problems.

The agenda of such a meeting should include the elaboration of a concept of an economic agreement to be concluded by all the republics, coordination of stages, dates of drafting and terms of concluding the agreement and the discussion of principles of establishing an inter-republican economic council and its activity immediately after signing the treaty of the union of sovereign states.

In a joint statement, Yeltsin and Nazarbayev came out in favour of preserving the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan.

They shared the view that preserving the Russian Federation as a single complex federative entity, acting as a co-founder of the new union, is a necessary condition for the preservation of this Union as a whole.

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Offer To Mediate NKAO

LD1708141391 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 17 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Borodinov]

[Text] Alma Ata August 17 TASS—The presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan have expressed their readiness to mediate in efforts to organise and conduct talks on settling

the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh and become, together with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, guarantors of compliance with relevant decisions.

The suggestion has been made in an address to President Gorbachev, adopted by Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev during their meeting in Kazakhstan's capital Alma Ata today.

The appeal from the leaders of the Soviet Union's two largest republics says that the talks should focus on the entire range of outstanding issues, including terms for effecting a cease-fire, disengaging opposing forces and ensuring safety for the civilian population.

The document stresses the need to resolve without delay the problem of Armenian and Azerbaijani refugees and determine the status of regions they have left behind.

Yeltsin and Nazarbayev suggest undertaking vigorous efforts to organise without any pre-conditions direct talks between the leaders of the warring parties with the participation of all forces that exert real influence on the regional situation.

"The logic of such actions is dictated by unacceptability of the further escalation of the fratricidal war," says the address to Gorbachev.

Yeltsin and Nazarbayev believe that the Soviet president should personally attend the talks and use all his authority and influence to secure their unconditional success.

The two republic leaders came out against the Soviet president's edict suspending the activity of constitutional authorities in Nagorno-Karabakh.

A separate ordinance, they believe, is required to immediately terminate the fulfilment by the Soviet Army of any functions except the temporary disengagement of parties in the conflict area.

Yeltsin and Nazarbayev believe it is inadmissible to use Soviet Armed Forces in operations involving passport check-ups, seizure of weapons or establishment of control of one or the other side over populated localities.

Delegation Leaves Alma-Ata

LD1808174691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1547 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Alma Ata, 18 Aug (KAZTAG-TASS)—A Russian delegation led by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Boris Yeltsin, which was in the capital of Kazakhstan to sign a protocol and exchange ratification documents for a treaty between the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Russian Federation, left for Moscow today.

"We are in favor of signing the Union Treaty although we are not entirely satisfied with the articles in the document which are based on compromise," the president of the Russian Federation stated during a press conference held here on Saturday for Soviet and foreign journalists." However, in the future the governments of our republics will develop the Union treaty into specific programs and decisions to promote economic progress."

Assessing the results of his meeting with Boris Yeltsin, Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, stressed at the press conference that he sees several fundamental points in the agreement with Russia, particularly the recognition of the republics' integrity and of the stability of borders. This meeting also saw joint work to formulate proposals on the 15 republics setting up a single economic market zone. The documents which were signed contain constructive proposals, whose implementation could break the crisis in political, economic and social spheres in the country.